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THE OBLATION

AND

THE INVOCATION

BEING AN INQUIRY INTO THEIR HISTORY AND PURPOSE

BY

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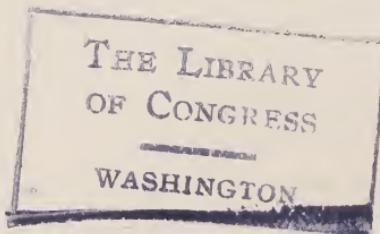
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TO THE
MEMORY
OF
JULIET FAIRBAIRN,
WHO FOR MORE THAN FORTY-FOUR YEARS
WAS THE FAITHFUL AND BELOVED
WIFE
OF
THE AUTHOR,
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

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HISTORY OF THE OBLATION AND THE INVOCATION.

“We have as good evidence, as we have for the canon of Scripture itself, that this form and order was used and prescribed by the apostles.”—T. BRETT.

HISTORY OF THE OBLATION AND THE INVOCATION.

IN the new edition of the STANDARD PRAYER-BOOK one of the amendments is the position which is given to the *oblation* and the *invocation* in the prayer of consecration. They are now printed as separate paragraphs. Particular attention is thus drawn to them. They are placed before us in a manner to arrest our attention, which will lead to the inquiry, What is their history? and what is their purport?

We are often reminded that it is one of the marked and valuable benefits which Bishop Seabury conferred on the Church in this country in introducing them from the Scotch book into the place which they now occupy in our office. This is only partly true; but it is so far correct as to make us indebted to the first Bishop of Connecticut for the privilege of now using them.

But it is very singular that we never find them explained, illustrated, or held up to view. Other parts of the office are the subject of sermons, essays, and treatises; but there seems to be a remarkable silence in regard to these two acts. The possible reason is that they are not in the English office. And we allow

ourselves to be so dependent on English Churchmen for our books of theology and liturgical exposition, that, not finding anything from this quarter, we have consequently not any exposition of them at all. But now that they are printed in such a manner as to call special attention to them, we shall, no doubt, be interested in knowing their origin and their import ; and the reason why we are expected to pay especial honor to Seabury for the influence which he exerted in having restored them to our American office, and in thus enabling us to follow the example of nearly all the rest of the Catholic Church.

It will be well, then, to inquire, first, whence they came. In the American book they are preceded by the sacred words, and stand in this order : the words of *institution*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation*. These three acts seem to be the centre of the service, the nucleus, which give character to it, and which make it to be what it is. At any communion, should the elements not be sufficient for the number of communicants, there is ordered by rubric a new consecration ; but the service for this purpose is confined to the use of these three acts—viz., the *sacred words*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation*. It would appear, therefore, without doubt that these three acts make the Eucharist. In the English book of Edward VI. the *invocation* came first, then the *sacred words*, and in the third place the *oblation* ; but in the present English book the *invocation* comes before the words

of *institution*, and the oblation is omitted. It is this *invocation* which is introduced into the American office, and not the one in the Scotch office. In all the Eastern liturgies, such as that of Constantinople and the Russian Church, they stand in the same order and with the same distinctness as they do in our book. In the Roman liturgy the *sacred words* and the *oblation* following them are very clear and distinct, and occupy the place which is occupied in all the Greek liturgies. But the invocation is not clear and distinct. It is not a prayer for the Holy Ghost to descend on “these gifts and creatures of bread and wine;” but it certainly implies the same when it says, “We humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, command these things [*hæc*] to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angels unto Thy high altar, in the presence of Thy Divine Majesty, that as many of us as, by this participation of the altar, shall receive the most sacred body and blood of Thy Son, may be replenished with all heavenly benediction and grace.” In the Clementine liturgy the invocation of the Holy Ghost is for the same purpose. The two agree in their purport, but the Roman omits the direct address to the Holy Ghost.

We have, then, the introduction of these three acts in all the liturgies except the English. Of the omission of the *oblation* and of the change of the invocation more will be said in another place.

It must strike us at once that there is some special

reason why such marked and distinct acts should hold a prominent and central place in all the liturgies. The question is, Whence did they come? What is their origin?

Palmer, in his “*Origines Liturgicæ*,”* says that the liturgies of the Church may be reduced to four families. He meant by this that all liturgies may be classed under one of these four divisions. The first is that of “*St. James, or the great Oriental Liturgy*, which prevailed in all the Christian churches from the Euphrates to the Hellespont, and from the Hellespont to the southern extremity of Greece. The second was the Alexandrian, which from time immemorial has been the liturgy of Egypt, Abyssinia, and the country extending along the Mediterranean Sea toward the west. The third was the Roman, which prevailed throughout the whole of Italy, Sicily, and the civil diocese of Africa. The fourth was the Gallican, which was used throughout Gaul and Spain, and probably the exarchate of Ephesus.”

These liturgies were in use in the Church at the beginning of the fourth century; but it is plain also that they were in use during the two previous centuries, so that we can quote them as authority, to a certain extent, up to a period within one hundred years of the last of the apostles. We can quote them as bearing witness that these three acts were in all these liturgies up to this date. We may not be able

* Vol. i., 8.

to quote every expression in the oblation or in the invocation. We cannot say that this or that expression, or that this or that word, was used in making the oblation in any liturgy—say, for instance, that of St. James ; but we can say this, that the liturgy of St. James and other liturgies are witnesses to the fact of there being an oblation and an invocation. There are numerous quotations and references in the sermons and letters and treatises of the great preachers and writers of the fourth, third, and second centuries from the liturgical sources. The Epistles of St. Cyprian, and the treatise of Justin Martyr, and the essays of Tertullian, and the works of Irenæus show us that there were an oblation and an invocation. There can be no doubt that these important parts of the service existed and were in use in the second century.

Here were liturgies, we may say four, in different parts of the world—throughout the civilized world of that day. If a Christian had travelled from Paris through Arles and Lyons to Milan and Rome, and across the Mediterranean to Hippo and to Carthage, and on to Alexandria and to Cesarea, and back to Constantinople, and to cities on routes shooting out in all directions from the Mediterranean, he would have heard in each church, in each parish church of each of these four grand divisions, on every Sunday morning, the Eucharistic service, in which the *sacred words*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation* formed the nucleus.

This is revealed to us in quotations from Augustine, and Chrysostom, and Cyril, and Cyprian, and Irenæus, and Tertullian, and Justin Martyr.

Now when we find these three acts in each liturgy, used in every part of the civilized world, in every part of the Roman Empire, and in the provinces beyond it, must we not conclude that the liturgy, and especially the nucleus of the liturgy, came from one source? Suppose that no one of the liturgies was yet written, still it must be obvious that to the Church of Alexandria, and to Carthage, and to Cesarea, and to Rome, and to Ephesus there must have been brought a form of worship from some common source. Such likeness must indicate and prove that the worship of the Church, as the Church itself, was carried from a centre to these distant cities—that it was carried from the “upper room” of Jerusalem to the churches most remote from that city. Would it not be incredible that St. Mark, at Alexandria, and St. John, at Ephesus, and St. Peter, at Rome, independently and without consultation and agreement, hit upon the same mode, and the same order, and in a large measure on the same expressions in giving utterance to the Eucharistic worship? In the second century we have proofs from the adoption of these three acts—the *sacred words*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation*—that there was an agreement among the apostles what the worship of the Christian Church should be. There must have been a form of worship which

had taken such a hold on their minds and their memories that it was the one adopted wherever the Church in all the world was planted. The worship of the Church must, therefore, have been of apostolical origin, so far at least as its form was concerned.

But as we find this in the second century, let us look at the assembly of the apostles at Jerusalem.

Immediately after the day of Pentecost we read that numbers were added to the one hundred and twenty disciples of “the upper room;” and there immediately took place what of necessity must have taken place—namely, an organization ; and the organization was held together, as any organization must be held together, by certain principles and rites. We are told (Acts 2 : 41) that three thousand were added unto them, and held to them by four acts. It was these four acts which separated them from any other society, and which bound them together as one distinct and peculiar body. We read that all those who had been baptized, who by baptism had been initiated into this society, “continued steadfastly in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers” (Acts 2 : 42). This may be more accurately translated thus : They continued in the doctrine and in the fellowship of the apostles, and in the breaking of the bread and in the prayers. The article points out distinctly four acts, and shows that those acts were marked and separate acts. There was, first, the *doctrine* ; they all believed that Jesus

Christ was the Son of God (Acts 8 : 37). There was, second, a *fellowship*; there was union one with another; there sprang up at once a society which we call the Church. There was the third act, which was the *breaking of the bread*. It was not only breaking bread, which might be a social meal, but it was the *breaking of the bread*, which was appointed for a specific purpose (St. Luke 22 : 19 ; 1 Cor. 11 : 25). And the fourth act was the *prayers*. They had a service which expressed their relations to God in the Church of the Redeemed, and they continued day after day in the breaking of bread. And years after at Troas (Acts 20 : 7), “upon the first day of the week, the disciples came together to break bread.” Now this was one of the distinguishing acts of the Christian worship. Could this act have been performed daily, or day after day, without the one officiating or leading falling into some form, some specific manner of celebrating the service? It is not likely that St. John would do it one way to-day and St. Peter another way to-morrow, but it is natural—that is, it is according to man’s habits as they spring out of his nature—to fall into a fixed way of performing such an act and of using certain words and expressions, so that all the apostles would come very soon to do it in the same manner. And the first thing would be the repeating the words which our Lord used in instituting this great rite of commemoration and of worship. And after the apostles “were scat-

tered abroad upon the persecution which arose about Stephen" (Acts 11 : 19), and they went to the Gentiles to carry the Gospel, and to make converts to the Christian faith, and to set up the worship of the Church, what would be the form in which they would celebrate this worship ? They would, as they had done at Jerusalem, continue steadfast in the doctrine and in the fellowship, and in the breaking of the bread, and in the prayers. And would they not do it in the form in which they had done it ? If St. Mark went to Alexandria, would he not carry with him the worship and the breaking of the bread, as well as the doctrine and the fellowship of the apostles, as they had been adopted at Jerusalem ? And would not this continue year after year and generation after generation at Alexandria ? And would they not call the liturgy of this Church, though amended and enlarged and enriched, the liturgy of St. Mark ? And would not the same be true of the Church of Ephesus and of the Church of Rome ?

It is difficult, nay, impossible, to conceive how in these different and distant churches there should be the same forms, and in many instances the same expressions ; how there should be the use of the *sacred words*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation* in the breaking of the bread, unless it should have come from a common source, from the apostolic college before the dispersion after the persecution about Stephen.

It must be remembered also that the first three

Gospels differ from each other quite as much as the liturgies differ. The three Gospels came from a common source. They are the record of our Lord's acts and words, but the difference is not a contradiction, but a difference which is due to the individuality of those who recorded the acts and the words of our Lord. Yet there is presented the one great truth that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is the Saviour of the world, and that He came in human flesh to redeem us. So the different liturgies show the same individuality of the apostles, but also show a unity in these great acts—the *sacred words*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation*. They are the central acts, the nucleus of the Christian worship. The central idea is the Christ, the redemption of the world. It is the commemoration of that great act which is held up and presented before God the Father. Take those acts away and there is no Eucharist left. The service would then become merely the dictate of the human heart. Put in those acts, and the worship becomes Christian worship ; and the great act which they commemorate and exhibit is the great act of Christian redemption.

It is not maintained that the apostles wrote out a liturgy, and that these liturgies which now bear their names were written by them ; but we must conclude that the liturgy of St. James, and of St. Mark, and of St. John, which exhibit the form of worship that prevailed in Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Ephesus,

were first given by those apostles, and that alteration and enlargement came afterward, as the condition of the Church demanded them.

It is also apparent from some expressions in the New Testament that the liturgy of St. James was before the mind of the apostle when his Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Romans were written. He said (1 Cor. 2 : 9) : “As it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for those that love Him.” This has greatly perplexed commentators. Where does this quotation come from? Who wrote it? There is no passage in the Old Testament which agrees with it. Isa. 64 : 1 has been named. But Bloomfield says on this passage that “the dissimilarity with the Hebrew and the Septuagint is so great, that some have fancied the words were quoted from a lost apocryphal book or a traditionary story of the Rabbins.” But there is another difficulty, which is the pronoun with which the quotation begins, which is ignored in our common version, and which is introduced very clumsily into the new translation. Bloomfield has bracketed it [$\ddot{\alpha}$], and thinks that it may have crept into the text, and that it was not there originally.

But if we now refer to the liturgy of St. James, which was the liturgy in all the countries in which St. Paul carried on his apostolic work, we shall find

the quotation,* and the pronoun with its proper antecedent, and all the trouble will cease. And that the liturgy of St. James should have preceded the Epistle to the Corinthians is as natural as that the establishment of the Church and its worship and sacraments should have existed before he wrote these letters of instruction.

We must believe, therefore, that the liturgy of St. James, or at least an early form of that liturgy, which was afterward to be enlarged and enriched, to express more fully the character of the Eucharist, but the central acts of which consisted then of the *sacred words*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation*, was used in these churches in Greece and in the provinces which we now call Asia Minor ; and that it was the form which St. Paul used in the breaking of bread at Troas, and

* In the common version the quotation reads : “ Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.” In the Greek it stands thus : *αλλα καθως γεγραπται ἀ οφθαλμος ουκ ειδε, και ονδ ουκ ηκουσε, κ. τ. λ.* In the new version it is translated in this manner : “ Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man, whatsoever things God prepared for them that loved Him.” But the Greek in the liturgy of St. James stands thus : “ *αιωνια σου δωρηματα ἀ οφθαλμος ουκ ειδε, και ονδ ουκ ηκουσε . . . ἀ ητοιμασας, Ο Θεος, τοις αγαπωσι σε,* ” which is thus translated, and shows the force of the pronoun as the antecedent stands before it. “ Grant us these heavenly and eternal rewards *which* eye hath not seen, nor ear hath heard.”

at Corinth, and in all the other churches the care of which came upon him.

But we have another proof that one of these liturgies was before the apostle's mind when he wrote to the Church at Rome. The epistle was probably written from Corinth, and therefore the same liturgy of St. James was before him. He says to the Romans (15 : 15, 16) : “I have written the more boldly unto you in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister (*λειτυργον*) of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering (*ἡ προσφορά*) up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified (*ἡγιασμένη*) by the Holy Ghost.” Now here we have three words which are liturgical words and words of St. James's liturgy, and two of them refer to two of the three acts which form the nucleus of the Eucharistic service. There is first *λειτυργον*, which refers to the one who ministers the liturgy or the Eucharistic service, and from which the word liturgy is derived. Then there is *the oblation*, which the Greeks called the *προσφορά*, and is the word in the liturgy of St. James which is used in making the offering ; and then we have the word (*ἡγιασμένη*) sanctification, which again is the word used in this liturgy—“Send down, O Lord, Thy most Holy Spirit . . . that He may sanctify (*ἁγιαση*).”

When the apostle used these words, which have a

liturgical significance, and are used in the New Testament with reference to an appointed service (St. Luke 1 : 23 ; Heb. 9 : 21 ; 8 : 2), it is certainly probable that he was recalling the words of the liturgy in which he had ministered, and which were familiar to the Roman and Corinthian Christians. If one should say of any subject on which he may have discoursed, “Mark, learn, and inwardly digest this,” we should at once understand that he was quoting the words of the Second Collect for the Advent season. And it is equally obvious when St. Paul uses these words of the liturgy, which prevailed in that portion of the Church which he served, that he was using familiar words, which would be recognized at once as having come from their common service and which they constantly heard.

This line of argument then would seem to prove that the foundation of the liturgy was laid at Jerusalem before the dispersion of the apostles. The liturgy, the form of the Christian service, which was to be rendered unto God, and which was to express Christian thought and acts of Christian redemption, did not come until the churches were planted and had attained a growth. The prayers and the breaking of the bread would come with the doctrine and the fellowship. The Christian service, the Christian liturgy, we must suppose, was provided for at the beginning ; and that we have to-day the nucleus at least of that service which was appointed and used by the

apostles. Thus, as Hooker said,* “ if the liturgies of all ancient churches throughout the world be compared among themselves, it may easily be perceived that they all had one original mould.”

* Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, Bk. 5, ch. 25.

PART FIRST.

THE OBLATION.

“For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death till He come.”—1 CORINTHIANS 11 : 26.

CHAPTER I.

THE OBLATION IN THE ROMAN LITURGY.

IN treating of the oblation it is necessary to have a distinct perception of the one which is involved. There are three oblations in the Eastern liturgies, in the Roman rite, and in the Book of Common Prayer. In the Eastern liturgies the *first* oblation is the offering of the bread and wine by the people to be used in the sacred office. The *second* oblation is the placing the elements on the altar. They are then called *holy gifts*, because they have been placed on the altar and offered to God to be used in the Eucharistic rite ; and the *third* oblation is the offering these gifts as the commemoration of the great act of the Redeemer in the salvation of the world.

There are the same three oblations in the Roman rite. The *first* one is the oblation of these elements for the sacred purposes of worship, which is called the *offertorium*. The *second* is the placing them upon the altar, which begins in the *ordinarium* with the words *Suscipe, Sancte Pater*, and the bread then,

before the great office of consecration begins, is called *immaculatam hostiam*. The third oblation is the offering of the bread and wine in commemoration, which begins with the words *Unde et memories*, the meaning and purport of which is the question now involved.

In the American office there is observed the same order. The *first oblation* is the bread and wine which are placed upon the prothesis, and represent the oblation of the people. They are called oblations in the *prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant*. Then, after the collection of money is made, the bread and the wine, which have stood on the prothesis, are taken, and with the alms are placed upon the altar and presented to God for the great act of worship. They are now offered to God, and cannot any more be used for common purposes. They can now be used only for the great Eucharistic rite, and are called, in the third oblation, as they are in the same place—before consecration—in the liturgy of St. James, these “*holy gifts*.” The *third oblation* takes place when these holy gifts are offered in commemoration of the acts of the Son of God in the redemption of the world.

The question which we now ask and discuss is this, What is it that the Church offers in this third or last oblation? It is the question which was asked at the Reformation, before the Prayer-Book was compiled—asked in a circular sent to the bishops and some of

the great doctors : “ What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass ? ” Cranmer and Ridley and the other bishops and Cox and other doctors answered it ; some as they inclined to the prevailing views, and others as they tended toward the Reformation view. They were dogmatic answers not reasoned out. They will be introduced at another place. It is proposed here to find an answer in the words of the liturgy, and not simply in the teachings of the great doctors of the Church. What does the liturgy say, when the oblation is made, that we offer unto God ?

This question is answered in three ways. There are three answers made to it. The *first*, that it is the Lord Jesus Christ that is offered. That is the distinct and unanimous answer of the Roman Church. The *second* answer is that it is the body and blood of Christ that is offered. That is the general view of the Greek Church and of some Anglican divines. The *third* is that it is the sacramental body and blood in commemoration of the one and only offering of the cross. This is the view of most Anglicans, as will be shown from the Catena in the fifth chapter.

The proper way to get an answer to this question is to investigate the words of the oblation. What do those words import ? There is an oblation made. What do the words, the language of the oblation, declare or signify, or what knowledge do they impart to us ?

It is maintained that the language of the services in

liturgical books should guide us. Those words must be taken in their natural sense. We must understand them according to the natural import of language. The theories and doctrines of theologians are not to rule and give meaning to the words of the service, but the words of the service are to express the signification of the acts. If we wish to know what the act is, what it means and imports, we must study the words by which the act is set forth.

This was insisted on in the Gorham controversy. It was maintained that the words of the baptismal office exhibited and declared what the act was, that we must take those words in their natural sense in order to understand what has been done in administering the sacrament of baptism. It is only through language that we can understand the act. If the language of the service does not express it, then we must use other language which will express it. It is the act as originally instituted that we wish to understand. We interpret the language as it was adopted originally to set forth the act, and as it has been used in the Church since to express the meaning of the act. The baptismal office may be reduced to the sacred words with the action of water, but the service adopted expresses the signification of the sacrament. The service is interpreted not by the opinions of the doctors of the Church, but by the natural meaning of the words themselves. The baptismal office in the Prayer-Book exhibits the mind of the Church, and

shows what she intends when she performs the act. The meaning of the rite depends upon the interpretation of the language of the service. All this was brought out clearly in the Gorham controversy. The meaning did not depend on the views which Bishop Philpots put on the service or the meaning on which Mr. Gorham insisted, but it all turned on the interpretation of the language of the office ; and the value of the decision of the court depended only on the correct interpretation of the office.

We must deal in the same manner with the Eucharistic office. There are certain acts performed and certain words uttered. Those words must give expression to the meaning of the act. The words and the acts must be in harmony. They must both point to the same signification. The acts signify something ; the words, to be of any value, must express that signification and no other. What we wish to get at is the act itself—what it is, what it imports. And words are the only medium by which we can get this.

The language of the Roman liturgy dates from the fifth century. It is at least as old as that date. The Canon of the Mass—that is, the portion which immediately precedes and follows the *sacred words*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation* has come down from a remote antiquity ; and we therefore do not, as we would anticipate that we should not, find any transubstantiation in the text, or in consequence any offering of Christ as the oblation.

The more direct way to get at the meaning of the oblation in the Roman liturgy will be to inquire what is the doctrine of the Roman Church on this subject. What does the Roman Church believe and teach about the presence of Christ and the offering of Christ, and then to compare this belief and teaching with the language of the service, and to inquire whether they accord—whether the doctrine as thus set forth is a correct expression of the significance of the acts.

The doctrine of the Roman Church is this : That the Son of God, Jesus Christ, is produced on the altar, and that He is the object which is offered to the Father in the act called the oblation. Thus in the creed of Pius IV. there is the following, which is the universally acknowledged doctrine of the Roman Church : “ I profess that in the mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and that there is wrought a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood ; which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation.” From this proposition, that “ in the mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead,” and also from this “ that Christ, body and blood, soul and divinity, that whole Christ

is in the Eucharist," it must follow that whole Christ is again offered to God as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of man. The Council of Trent* says : " In this Divine sacrifice which is performed in the mass, that same Christ is contained and immolated in a bloodless manner who once offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the cross." The Catechism† of the Council of Trent says : " If with pure hearts and a lively faith, and with a sincere sorrow for past transgressions, we immolate and offer in sacrifice this most holy victim, we shall no doubt receive from the Lord ' mercy and grace in seasonable aid.' "

The account which the theologians of the Church of Rome give of the mass is in accordance with this. Thus Bossuet‡ says : " It cannot be doubted but that this action . . . places before Him [the Almighty Father] His only Son, under the signs of that death by which He was appeased. All Christians confess that the presence only of Jesus Christ is a mode of intercession, most powerful before God, for the whole human race, according to the saying of the apostle, that Jesus Christ presents Himself and appears before the face of God ; so we believe that Jesus Christ, present on the holy table, in the figure of death, intercedes for us, and represents continually to His Father the death which He suffered for His Church."

* Session xxii., chap. 2.

† Page 195.

‡ Bossuet's *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique sur les Matières de Controverse*, chap. 14.

Moehler* expresses himself in similar terms : “The decisive, conscious, undoubting faith that Christ before our eyes offers Himself up for us to His Eternal Father, is quite calculated to produce an effect piercing into the inmost heart of man.” Bishop England,† in his Preface to his “Translation of the Mass,” uses the same language : “In the mass Jesus Christ is the victim. He is produced by the consecration, which by the power of God, and the institution of the Redeemer, and the act of the priest places the body and blood of Christ, under the appearance of bread and wine, upon the altar ; then the priest makes an oblation of this victim to the Eternal Father in behalf of the people.” Again he says that the acts of the mass “are the producing of the victim upon the altar, and offering Him to God for our sins after He has been produced.” The Ursuline Manual‡ uses this language : “In the mass Jesus Christ is our victim ; the priest makes an oblation of this victim to the Eternal Father in behalf of all men.”

The question, then, for our consideration is this, whether the words of the service suppose Jesus Christ to have been produced on the altar, and that He is there offered in sacrifice, or as an oblation to the Almighty Father. When words are used for the purpose of making an oblation, or when a service is con-

* Moehler’s Symbolism, chap. 4, sec. 34.

† Bishop England’s Translation, Preface, pp. x. and xxiii.

‡ Page 77.

structed to express this act, there must be in the mind of the compiler a certain view. He must have an opinion whether the oblation is the presenting Christ Himself, or the body and blood of Christ, or a memorial of Christ. He could not think one thing and say another. He must have in his mind a certain doctrine or belief. If the one who committed to paper the Canon of the Mass thought that Jesus Christ was produced by the words, *Hoc est Corpus meum* and *Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei*, etc., and if he thought that the whole substance of the bread was converted into the body of Christ, and that the whole substance of the wine was converted into the blood of Christ, and if he thought that whole Christ—soul, body, and divinity—was then produced upon the altar, would he not have used language to express this thought, this view, this doctrine? Do the words of the service correspond with this doctrine? In the oblation which follows, does the priest make an offering of the Son as the Redeemer of the world unto the Almighty Father? This is what Bishop England says the acts of the mass are, producing Christ on the altar, and offering Him in sacrifice. Is there such an offering in the mass? Does the priest use words that say or imply that he is offering the Son of God, that he is making an oblation of Him?

Now the words of the mass are these. The words of the oblation come after the words of institution;

just as in the Book of Common Prayer they follow the sacred words, when the Roman bishops and doctors maintain that the victim has been produced and is now offered : “ Wherefore, O Lord, we, Thy servants, and also Thy holy people, having in remembrance both the blessed passion of the same Christ our Lord, as also His resurrection from the dead, and likewise His triumphant ascension into heaven, offer unto Thy glorious majesty of Thine own gifts and presents a pure host, a holy host, an immaculate host, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation, upon which (*supra quæ*) vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance, and accept them as Thou wast pleased graciously to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the immaculate host which Thy high priest Melchisedec offered to Thee. We humbly beseech Thee, O Almighty God, command those things (*hæc*) to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel unto Thy high altar,” etc.

This word *hostia* is used both before and after the oblation. In the *offertorium*, where there is no dispute about the nature of the elements, they are called *immaculatam hostiam*; and the offering of Melchisedec is also called in the latter part of the prayer of oblation, after the offering is made, *immaculatam hostiam*. It is impossible that in these two cases the *hostia* should refer to Christ produced upon the altar,

so it cannot refer to Christ in the oblation, for afterward that *hostia* is twice called *these things*, which can alone refer to the elements of bread and wine.*

The words of the Roman liturgy do not then sustain the doctrine of the Council of Trent, of the Catechism of Trent, or of Bishop England and of the Ursuline Manual. There is no reference in any of the prayers of the mass to the offering of Christ, as He is produced on the altar, for the sins of the world. There is not a sentence which declares that Christ is the oblation. The language of the mass corresponds with the language of the Greek liturgies, with some exceptions in the invocation. The Roman liturgy has

* The Rev. William Maskell, M.A., in "The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England according to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York, Hereford, and the Modern Roman Liturgy," says as follows: "If the crosses are a difficulty, much more is the prayer, '*Supra quæ propitio*,' which follows irreconcilable with the dogma of transubstantiation. Anciently matters were not so; and before such novelties were introduced into the faith of the Church, one part of her service harmonized with another, and there was no need, as the Roman doctors now cannot but acknowledge, to explain away any prayer that it might not contradict openly statements to which she had unadvisedly been committed. No longer, as once they could, can those branches of the Catholic Church which are in communion with Rome point boldly to their liturgy, and say that the prayers, and the ceremonies, and observances which it contains are to be interpreted in an honest acceptation and in their ancient and true meaning." Note on the oblation in the Canon of the Mass, p. 98.

the *sacred words*, the *oblation*, and what may be intended for the *invocation*. The prayer does not contain the name of the Holy Ghost, which is distinctly mentioned in other liturgies, but there is the petition that “as many of us as by this participation of the altar shall receive the most sacred body and blood of Thy Son, may be replenished with all heavenly benediction and grace through the same Christ our Lord.”

It is also to be observed that the rubric declares that the mention of the sacred words with the manipulation constitutes the consecration, and in accordance with this the priest adores the elements and presents them to the people for adoration ; but in the language of the mass which follows this no recognition of this act is made, but in the words of the prayers which follow the elements are spoken of as elements still.

The incongruity of the doctrine of the Roman Church with the words of the oblation in the mass has not escaped the observation of theologians both Anglican and Roman. Bishop Hall* says : “The Romanists take upon them to crucify and sacrifice again ; and while they solemnly offer the Son of God up unto His Father, they humbly beseech Him . . . that He would be pleased to bless and accept that oblation.” Brett† says that “the prayers in the Canon of the Mass no more favor transubstantiation than the prayer

* Bishop Hall’s Works, vol. x., p. 387.

† Dr. Thomas Brett’s Collection of the Principal Liturgies with Dissertation, sec. 18.

in the established liturgy of the Church of England.” So Bingham* says : “ The words in this prayer, as our polemical writers have rightly observed, were used before transubstantiation was invented, and when the consecration was thought to be made by prayer, and not barely by pronouncing the words, ‘ *This is My body;*’ and then they were good sense, when said over bread and wine to consecrate them into the memorial and symbols of Christ’s body and blood. But now they are become absurd and contrary to primitive intention ; for how can the real body and blood of Christ be called *these gifts*, or be compared to the sacrifice of Abel, who offered a beast ? How can man pray, without indignity to the Son of God, that the sacrifice of God’s only Son may be as acceptable to God as the sacrifice of Abel was ? Or how does Christ, who sits at the right hand of the Father, need the mediation of angels to be carried or presented to His Father at the heavenly altar ? With what propriety of speech can Christ be called *all these good things*, and the good things which God createth always, and quickeneth and sanctifieth always ? Doth God create, and quicken, and bless Jesus Christ by Jesus Christ ? It is proper to say this of the gifts, supposing them to be real bread and wine, but altogether improper if they are transubstantiated into the natural flesh and blood of Christ.” Dr. Pusey† says :

* Bingham’s *Origines*, Book 15, cap. 3, sec. 30.

† *The Real Presence*, p. 18.

"The words, however, 'these things,' must surely mean those same offerings upon which God has been prayed graciously to look ; the memorials of the death and passion of our Lord, whereby we plead to God that same sacrifice on the cross which He, our great High Priest and Intercessor, pleadeth unceasingly in heaven in that glorified body which still bears (what exceeding glory) the marks of His passion. I agree with Mr. Goode that this language in its obvious sense is inconsistent with the doctrine of transubstantiation, both because the word 'bread' is still used after consecration (and that as 'God's own donations and gifts'), and that the offering is compared with the material offerings of the patriarchs, which would not be natural if nothing material remained."

Cardinal Bona* gives the objection of Cabasilas at the Council of Florence : "And what is this prayer ? *Command these things to be carried up in the hand of the angel to Thy supercelestial altar* ; for let them say what is the meaning of this, let *the gifts be carried up*? For they either pray for a local transition of them from earth and these lower regions into heaven, or else that they may receive some worthy change from a more humble to a higher state, . . . whence it is manifest that they very well know that they are still but bread and wine, which have not yet received the sanctification, and therefore they pray for them as

* Quoted by Brett from Bona de Reb. Liturg., chap. 2, cap. 13. Waddington's History of the Church, chap. 26.

bitherto needing prayers." The Roman theologians find it difficult to harmonize the words of the oblation with their doctrine. Florus,* on the Canon of the Mass, says that "these words are difficult to be understood." Innocent III. explains these words, *command these things to be carried*, to be the prayers of the faithful; but what reference has there been made to the prayers of the faithful? The subject of the oblation and of this prayer is these things—*haec*.

It must also be remembered that the text of the Canon of the Mass is of more ancient date than the doctrine of transubstantiation. The controversy about the nature of the offering and the effect of consecration began A.D. 818, but the doctrine was under dispute, and not put into shape and received until two hundred years, in 1018. The Canon of the Mass before this period and during the years of controversy and since that period has continued the same. The words of the mass express a doctrine which was the doctrine of the Church before any such definition was made. The history of the opinion shows that the liturgy of the Roman Church expressed no such change as that expressed by Bishop England, nor do its words indicate any such offering in the oblation. The Canon of the Mass was evidently constructed on a theory which we call the doctrine of the Catholic Church; and therefore both from its date and from the doctrine prevailing when it was com-

* Quoted by Pusey's Real Presence, p. 18.

piled we should not expect to find, and do not find, any such doctrine in the service as that of transubstantiation.

The doctrine, then, which is taught in the Roman Church, that the Saviour Jesus Christ is by consecration placed on the altar, and that He is there offered in sacrifice by the oblation, is not sustained by the language of the oblation. It is an exceedingly unnatural interpretation to put upon the words. It must be obvious, then, from the words themselves that the one who composed the oblation did not intend to express such an act.

CHAPTER II.

THE OBLATION IN THE GREEK LITURGIES.

ANOTHER opinion which is extensively held is, that the sacred words convert the elements into the body and blood of Christ, and that in the oblation they are offered unto the Eternal Father.

It must be kept in mind that the only question now before us is, What is it that we offer in the oblation ? what do the words imply that we place before God ? It is not the opinions of theologians that is to guide us. Their testimony may be of importance, and it may be sought and brought forward, but the question now is, What do the words imply ? Who do we say in the words of the service is offered ? The words give expression to the opinion of the Church, and our inquiry is, What do those words imply ? what do they declare and express ? It is held, and probably rightly held, that the action does not depend on the words, but that the action has a significancy in itself. Placing them on the holy table they signify something. And what they signify, that it is that the Church tries to express in words. And now we are trying to get at the meaning of those words. We wish to remove all ambiguity, and to see just what

such words signify, and that we must take to be the meaning of the act.

Let us quote the words of the oblation in the principal Greek liturgies, and see what is the plain and natural meaning of those words, what is the meaning which we should put upon them if our minds were entirely relieved from any opinions obtained from theological writers.

We begin with the liturgy of St. James, which is supposed to be the tradition at least of the original apostolic liturgy. It was used at Jerusalem and afterward at Cesarea. This in its principal parts is probably the oldest liturgy in Christendom, and it may possibly have undergone less change than any other one that was in use. It came under the influence of the great Basil, and was changed and amended in words and phrases, but not in its essential parts. Those, as was said in the Introduction, were in use from the beginning. It can be traced back to within two hundred years of the apostles, when men then living were in communication with those who had seen the apostles. Our knowledge of it thus reaches up to the origin of the Christian Church. The oblation is in these words :

“ Wherefore, having in remembrance His life-giving passion, salutary cross, death, burial, and resurrection on the third day from the dead, His ascension into heaven and sitting at the right hand of Thee, His God and Father, and His second bright and terrible appearance, when He shall come

again with glory to judge the living and the dead, and shall render to every man according to his works ; we sinners offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, beseeching Thee not to deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities.”

That this unusual and exalted language refers to the “creatures of bread and wine” is obvious from what follows, for the celebrant proceeds to say :

“Send down, O Lord, this Thy most Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Thy gifts, here set before Thee, that by His holy, good, and gracious presence He may sanctify and make this bread the holy body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious blood of Thy Christ.”

It was not, therefore, called the “tremendous and unbloody sacrifice” because it was the offering of Christ, or of the body and blood of Christ, for the language immediately following does not justify that interpretation. There is no doubt that language began early to be used by some of the great doctors of the Church, which implied that Christ or that Christ’s body and blood were offered. This teaching or expression no doubt influenced the revisers when this expression was introduced into the liturgy of St. James. That the expression does not harmonize with the language which follows, and that it differs from other great liturgies, and especially from that of Clement, shows that such words and expressions were the result of the progress of opinion, which became extremely prevalent in the Church, and which in the

eleventh century culminated, in the West, in the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The liturgy of St. Mark, used at Alexandria, is possibly next in antiquity to that of St. James. There are visible changes, and introductions, and amendments made in this liturgy—changes such as we see were made in the liturgy of St. James. The oblation is made in the following form :

“ Showing forth, therefore, O Lord Almighty, Heavenly King, the death of Thy only begotten Son, our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ ; and confessing His blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day, His ascension into heaven, and His session at the right hand of Thee, His God and Father ; and also looking for His second terrible and dreadful appearance, when He shall come in righteousness to judge both the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works, we, O Lord God, have set before Thee Thine own out of Thine own gifts.”

We may compare these with the liturgy of St. Clement. This liturgy was not used in any church, but is an exhibition of the services of the Church as they prevailed in the beginning of the third century. It probably more nearly shows what the worship of the Church was than any other liturgy. The others were in use, and therefore liable to alteration ; and then they were amended and enriched according to the notions and opinions which sprang up in the Church. But the liturgy ascribed to St. Clement was written certainly in the first part of the third cen-

tury, and has come down to us probably in its original language and original form. It shows us, therefore, what was the form of the oblation in the latter part of the second century, and probably in the two centuries which succeed the apostolic age. The oblation is made in these words :

“ When having in remembrance the passion, death, and resurrection from the dead, His return into heaven, and His future second appearance, when He shall come with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works, we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His institution, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee, through Him, that Thou hast thought us worthy to stand before Thee and to sacrifice unto Thee.”

The oblation in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, which is the prevailing use in the Eastern and Russian Church, is in the following words :

“ We, therefore, remembering this salutary precept and all that happened in our behalf, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into heaven, the session on Thy right hand, the second and glorious coming again in behalf of all and for all, we offer Thee Thine own out of Thine own ; moreover, we offer unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice ; and we beseech, and pray, and supplicate Thee to send down Thy Holy Ghost upon us and upon these gifts lying before Thee.”

In the liturgy of St. Basil, which is the amended form of the liturgy of St. James, the oblation is as follows :

“ Wherefore we also, O Lord, having in remembrance those

things which He suffered for our salvation, His life-giving cross, His lying in the grave for three days, His resurrection from the dead, His ascension into heaven, His session at the right hand of Thee, His God and Father, and His glorious and terrible second appearance, through all and in all, offer to Thee Thine own out of Thine own gifts, . . . and laying before Thee these symbols (*τα αντιτυπα*) of the holy body and blood of Thy Christ,” etc.

In the liturgy of St. Basil, which is used in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the oblation is thus made :

“ In memory, therefore, of His most holy sufferings, His resurrection from the dead, His ascension into heaven, His sitting down at the right hand of Thee, His God and Father, and His glorious and terrible second appearance, we for all, through all, and in all offer to Thee Thine own gifts.”

The Mosarabic liturgy, which was in use in Spain until the eleventh century, and was no doubt brought from Africa, has the oblation in these words :

“ We, O Lord, observing these, Thy gifts and precepts, lay upon Thine altar the sacrifice of bread and wine, beseeching the most profound goodness of Thy mercy, that the holy and undivided Trinity may sanctify these hosts by the same Spirit,” etc.

Placing here the oblation which is in the American book, we shall be able to see that our form of oblation, though it came to us from the Scotch book, was yet introduced into that office from the Greek liturgies. No doubt it was the result of the profound study of patristic theology and of the Eastern liturgies by Anglican divines in the time of Archbishop

Laud. He was not the author or compiler of the liturgy for the Scotch Church, yet it was submitted to his inspection and criticism. It stands in our book as follows :

“ Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make ; having in remembrance His blessed passion and precious death, His mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, render unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.”

Let us now look particularly at the words which are used, and judge whether they make an offering of the body and blood of Christ. There is no word or sentence which indicates such an offering. There is no liturgy nor a sentence in any liturgy which says, “ We offer and present unto Thee the body and blood of Thy Son. Look propitiously upon it as Thou didst look upon the sacrifice of Thy righteous servant Abel.” The liturgies are unanimous in the use of a form and language ; but this form and language do not say or imply that the Church is making an offering upon the altar of the body and blood of the Son of God, much less of the Son Himself. In the liturgy of Clement, “ We offer to Thee this bread and this cup.” In the liturgy of St. Mark, “ We set before Thee Thine own out of Thine own gifts.” In

St. Basil's, "Laying before Thee these symbols of the holy body and blood of Thy Christ." In the liturgy of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, "We . . . offer to Thee Thine own out of Thine own gifts. . . . Send down upon us, Thy servants, and upon these gifts lying before Thee Thy Holy Spirit." In the Mosarabic liturgy, "We . . . lay upon Thine altar the sacrifice of bread and wine." And in the Prayer-Book of the American Church, "We celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make."

It would appear to be plain, then, that the offering is "bread and wine," that it is "the gifts and presents" of the Creator, that it is "these holy gifts," made holy by being offered in the second oblation for sacred use. We may certainly regard it as singular that if the composer or compiler of a liturgy meant the Church to make, or supposed that the Church made an offering of the body and blood of Christ, he did not use words to express that act. We insist that when we are directed to say in the baptismal office, "Seeing now that this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church," that we mean that this child is born again—that it is introduced the second time into life—into the spiritual and new life. We contrast this spiritual life with the natural life. This is the obvious and natural meaning of the expression regeneration. So in the liturgy, when we offer

this bread and this cup ; when we present these gifts, these holy gifts, these symbols of the body and blood of Christ ; and when we pray afterward in the invocation that they may be made unto us (*ut nobis Corpus . . . fiat*) the body and blood of Christ, or that “ we receiving these creatures of bread and wine” (so called after the oblation), may be made partakers of the body and blood of Christ, we might say that there is almost a studied caution to avoid any mode of expression which might imply that which the symbols indicated.

The only one which differs in this respect from the other liturgies is that of Edward VI. In this the invocation is placed *first*, before the words of institution, and the oblation comes in the *third* place. Thus it says :

“ Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, who in the same night that He was betrayed took bread, and when He had blessed and given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is My body, which is given for you ; do this in remembrance of Me.

“ Likewise after supper He took the cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sin ; do this as oft as ye shall drink of it in remembrance of Me.

“ Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father, according to

the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath asked us to make," etc.

Of this change, in the order of the three great acts of the liturgy, Brett* writes as follows : " That liturgy has not herein exactly followed primitive antiquity, and comes too near the Canon of the Mass, where this prayer for the Divine benediction, to sanctify the bread and wine, precedes the words of institution contrary to all other liturgies of the Christian Church, whether in the East or West, . . . and that prayer was always placed in the last place to complete and perfect the consecration, and not to begin it as in the Roman Canon and the first liturgy of King Edward."

Possibly the prayer which precedes the *sacred words* in the mass is not the *invocation*. There is a difference of opinion whether we are to regard the one that precedes the words of *institution*, or the one that follows the *oblation* as answering to the *invocation*. In neither of them is the Holy Ghost named as He is in the invocation in the Book of Common Prayer and in the Eastern liturgies. Renaudot has maintained that this is the proper place for it. So it would be in a service which regards the offering of Christ's body

* A Collection of the Principal Liturgies used by the Christian Church, with a Dissertation upon Them, by Thomas Brett, LL.D., p. 159.

and blood as the oblation ; but this great liturgical writer has given no example of one which thus places the invocation. This, however, cannot be said of the liturgy of Edward VI. Then, in the prayer which precedes the words of *institution*, there is the same form of invocation which there is in the American book, that “ God by His Holy Spirit and word would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these creatures of bread and wine, that they be unto us the most blessed body and blood.”

It is also worthy of observation that it is a prayer that the elements may be *made unto us* the body and blood of Christ, which would seem, and it has been so maintained by many Anglican writers, that the blessing is limited to the participation.

But that such a prayer precedes the oblation does not show that the elements are changed into the realities by the one and simple prayer, for the language in which the oblation is made does not agree with this. There is still on this supposition the incongruity of language, which nothing will remove but understanding them in their plain and natural sense as the sacred elements, the holy gifts.

It must be maintained, then, that there is no offering of Christ, or of Christ’s body and blood, in the Eucharistic oblation.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT IS OFFERED IN THE OBLATION.

IT has been found that according to the words of the oblation we do not offer Christ, and that we do not offer His body and blood. The words of the service do not convey any such meaning. The inquiry now is, What do we offer? When we say in our liturgy, "We celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make;" when it was said in the liturgy of St. Clement, "We offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His institution, this bread and this cup;" what are the bread and the cup? If they are not Christ, if they are not His body and His blood, what, then, are they? Are they changed in their nature so that in any sense they are no longer what they appear to be? What, then, are they? They are in their elements and in their nature, in their substance and in their accidents, bread and wine; but in their purport, in what they signify, and in the relations in which they stand they serve a different purpose from what they did when they were used for

the common purposes of life. Justin Martyr* says that the elements are no longer used for "ordinary food," and Irenæus† says that they are no longer "common food." When they were such they were used to nourish the body only.

The great object to be accomplished with the "holy gifts" is to make an oblation of remembrance before God of the work of His Son in the redemption of the world. This is the universal language of the liturgies. However they may differ from each other, in this respect they are the same. The Roman mass says : "Having in remembrance both the blessed passion of the same Thy Son, Christ our Lord, as also His resurrection from the dead, and His triumphant ascension unto the heavens, we offer unto Thy glorious Majesty of Thine own gifts and presents." The liturgy of Clement says : "Having in remembrance His passion and resurrection from the dead, His return into heaven, and His future second appearance, when He shall come with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works, we offer," etc. In the liturgy of St. James : "Wherefore, having in remembrance His life-giving passion, salutary cross, death, burial and resurrection on the third day from the dead, His ascension into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of Thee, His God and Father, and His second bright and terrible appearance, when He shall come with

* Apology, sec. 66.

† Irenæus, Book 4, sec. 5.

glory to judge the living and the dead, and shall render to every man according to his works, we sinners offer to Thee, O Lord," etc. In St. Chrysostom the words are as follows : "In remembrance, therefore, of this command of our Saviour, and all those things which He did for us, His cross, His burial, His resurrection on the third day, His ascension into heaven, His sitting down at Thy right hand, and His second coming in great glory, we offer to Thee," etc. In St. Basil's liturgy the words are almost the same : "Wherefore we also, O Lord, having in remembrance those things which He suffered for our salvation, His life-giving cross, His lying in the grave for three days, His resurrection from the dead, His ascension into heaven, His session at the right hand of Thee, His God and Father, and His glorious and terrible second appearance, through all and in all, we offer to Thee," etc. In the American book we say : "Having in remembrance His blessed passion and precious death, His mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, render unto Thee most hearty thanks." This differs from the other liturgies only in the arrangement of the words. In our book the oblation is made first, and then there is the rehearsal of the great redemptive acts of the Son of God ; while in the other service books this order is reversed, and the acts of the Redeemer are first made and then the oblation. But this in no respect alters the import of the offering. It is in each distinctly made in con-

nexion with the memorial which is commanded to be made.

The authority for this, for the institution of this memorial, is presented in most liturgies in the words of St. Paul. Thus in the liturgy of St. Clement, after the *sacred words* there are added the following : “ For as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show My death until I come ; wherefore having in remembrance His passion, death, and resurrection from the dead.” In the liturgy of St. James the words are : “ For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the death of the Son of Man, and confess His resurrection until His coming again ; wherefore, having in remembrance,” etc. In St. Mark’s liturgy the same is quoted. “ For as often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show My death and confess My resurrection and ascension till My coming again, showing forth therefore, O Lord,” etc. Nearly the same words are used in both the liturgies of St. Basil, while in the liturgies of St. Chrysostom, of Edward VI., and of the American Church the words of St. Paul are not quoted, but only the words of our Lord : “ Do this in remembrance of Me.” The words of St. Paul : “ For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death until He come,” are thus distinctly introduced as the authority for the institution, for the oblation and memorial of the great acts of Christ on which His mediator-

ship depended, and through which came our redemption.

This, then, is the real import of the oblation as expressed in the words of the liturgies. It is a memorial of Christ's work as the Redeemer of the world. It gives expression to what He did as the Son of God for our restoration to the Father's favor. Thus Brett* says : " We make an oblation of the elements as the representative body and blood of Christ with a thankful remembrance of His death." Thus Dr. Pusey† says : " It may be well . . . to state briefly what that doctrine is, and what the Romish corruption of it. The doctrine, then, of the early Church was this, that 'in the Eucharist an oblation or sacrifice was made by the Church to God under the form of His creatures of bread and wine, according to our Lord's holy institution, in memory of His cross and passion ' " (page 4). And again : " The subsequent Passovers were sacrifices commemorative of the first sacrifice, and so typical of the Eucharist, as commemorating and showing forth our Lord's sacrifice on the cross." And again : " They presented to the Almighty Father the symbols and memorials of the meritorious death and passion of His only begotten and well beloved Son, and besought Him by that precious sacrifice to look graciously upon the Church which He had purchased with His own blood, offering the memorials of

* T. Brett, LL.D., Dissertation, etc., p. 137.

† Oxford Tract, No. 82, by E. B. Pusey, D.D., pp. 4, 5.

that same sacrifice which He, our great High Priest, made once for all, and now being entered within the veil, unceasingly presents before the Father, and the representation of which He has commanded us to make.” When a new liturgy for the Anglican Church was in contemplation this is one of the questions, among others, which was asked. In the winter of 1548 a committee of bishops and learned presbyters was appointed to examine the offices. One of the set of questions which was sent out was this : “ What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass ?”* It was answered by the two archbishops, seventeen bishops, and two doctors. The answer of Cranmer was significant : “ The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is so called not because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people (for that was done but once by Himself upon the cross), but it is so called because it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross.” The Bishop of Lincoln answered : “ There is properly no oblation nor sacrifice, but a remembrance of the one oblation of Christ upon the cross, made once for all.” Dr. Cox, who had been a Fellow at Oxford, replied that “ the oblation of the sacrifice in the mass is the prayer, the praise, the thanksgiving, and the remem-

* The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by Gilbert Burnett. To which is added a Collection of Records, Letters, etc. Part 2, Book 1, p. 203.

brance of Christ's passion and death. The Archbishop of York wrote that "the oblation and sacrifice Christ mentioned in the mass is a memorial of Christ's only sacrifice upon the cross once offered for men." Ridley says : "I am not able to say that the mass consisted by Christ's institution of other things than in those which He set forth in the evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in the Acts, and 1 Cor. 10 and 11."

These are the answers of those who were influenced by views in favor of reformation, and who wished for a change in the services ; but there were others who held to the views which had prevailed, and which they wished to prevail still. Thus six bishops joined in this one answer, "I think it is the presentation of the very body and blood of Christ, being really present in the sacrament ; which presentation the priest maketh at the mass in the name of the Church unto God the Father, in memory of Christ's passion and death upon the cross." The Bishop of Durham answered : "The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is the presenting Christ by the priest in commemoration of His passion," etc.

The answers of each party are somewhat singular. They do not refer to the words of the mass, and say that these words, in their natural meaning, declare, or that these words imply, that a memorial is made of Christ and His acts of redemption, but they simply say what they understand the mass to mean. Ridley

says that he understands the mass to be what our Lord meant in the words which are recorded in the Gospels and in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. But one would think that the question really asked was this, what the words of the mass, and particularly the words of the oblation, meant or indicated. The nearest to this is the answer of Cranmer. It appears to me that if a similar circular were to be addressed to the bishops and doctors of the American Church to-day, asking what we offered in the oblation, that they all would instinctively turn to the service, and would read and consider the words which they use on every celebration of that holy rite, and determine from those words what the oblation is—what it is that is offered. The oblation as expressed in the Prayer-Book would undergo an analysis and a scrutiny in order to get at its meaning ; and an attempt would be made to find out the exact import of the words—what was the meaning which they naturally conveyed. The doctrine which was taught, and which generally prevailed, might help to get at the meaning ; but the natural interpretation of the words would convey the meaning and determine the import of the act. If I mistake not, it is in this way that the baptismal rite is dealt with. Every one is held to the word *regeneration* because we declare every baptized infant to be regenerated, and so every one should be held to the words, “ We do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these

Thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make." If the offering is the Lord Jesus Himself, or if the offering is Christ's body and blood, they would expect to find that plainly expressed in the words; and if they had not already determined their meaning and import, we should see hesitation and repeated readings of the service to determine their meaning.

The controversy concerning the act of consecration came up in the Council of Florence in 1439, only a few years before the fall of Constantinople. A council had assembled at Ferrara in the interests of union between the Eastern and Western churches. It was adjourned to Florence. There had been scarcely a word of inquiry or of controversy on the subject of the Eucharistic rite, or of the mode and effect of the consecration of the elements. When the terms of union came to be discussed there were not wanting violent partisans, who appear in every age and in every country of the world. John Turrecremata brought forward an accusation against the Greek service. "To pray," he said, "after the words of institution that the elements may become the body and blood of Christ, is to deny any transmuting efficacy in our Lord's own words." The Latins made the act of adoration immediately after the words of *institution*. The Greeks were puzzled by the accusation, and without settling the controversy or even attempting to meet it, proclaimed that they regarded our Lord's words with as

much reverence as the Latins. Bessarion, the Archbishop of Nice, and five Greek prelates drew up a confession in accordance with the views of Turrecremata and the Latin Church. It was attempted to incorporate it into the definition of faith about to be promulgated by the council, but the Pope (Eugenius) refused to open again the controversy, and the definition was made without any reference to the point. It was afterward brought into controversy only by individual theologians.*

Renaudot endeavored to show that, notwithstanding the language of the Eastern liturgies, they were yet in agreement with the doctrine of the West ; and he explained it in this fashion, that the Eastern Church prayed “in more than one sacrament, after the form is complete, that the grace conferred by that form may be imparted ; as, for example, after a child is baptized, that it may be regenerate ; and after the marriage ceremony is completed, that the grace conferred by that sacrament may be conferred on the bride and bridegroom.” It was also said that the prayer, “Make this bread the precious body of Thy Son,” may mean nothing more than make this bread the precious body of Christ *to us*. Neal, in the “History of the Holy Eastern Church,” † says : “ Ingenious as these arguments may be, they cannot stand, . . . no reasoning can reconcile us to so palpable an

* T. Brett, Dissertation concerning the Liturgies, pp. 142-52.

† Vol. i., pp. 492-94. Also Gibbon, chap. 66.

explaining away of plain words." In the Longer Catechism of the Russian Church the essential acts in consecration are declared to be "the utterance of the words which Jesus Christ spake in instituting the sacrament, . . . and after this the *invocation* of the Holy Ghost." And this is the teaching of the American book, which says, in the rubric which is placed after ministering the cup, that "if the consecrated bread or wine be spent before all have communicated, the priest is to consecrate* more according to the form before prescribed"—that is, making use of the words of *institution*, the *oblation*, and the *invocation*, or, as the words of the rubric are, "beginning

* Thorndike, in the chapter on the Consecration of the Elements, says : " Coming now to consider wherein the consecration of the Eucharist consists, I find no opinion on foot but that which hath taken possession by the authority of the school doctors ; that it is performed by the recital of these words, 'This is My body, this is My blood,' in the Canon (that is, the canonical or regular prayer for the consecration of the Eucharist) of the Mass." On this he has the following note : "*Prævalet tamen hodie opinio constituens in his solis verbis—Hoc est Corpus meum ; hic est sanguis meus—panis et vini consecrationem ; adeo ut Bellarminus, Vasquez, Becanus et alii, illam indigent communem scholasticorum sententiam.*" Albertinus, De Euch., lib. 1, chap. 1, p. 7, having just quoted from Christopher de Fontium a list of seven different opinions held at various times on the point, "*inter scriptores Catholicos.*" See Bellarmine, tom. ii., p. 832, D.

Anglo-Catholic Library. Herbert Thorndike, on the Laws of the Church, lib. iii., chap. 4, p. 50.

at, *All glory be to Thee, Almighty God*, and ending with these words, *partakers of His most blessed body and blood.*"

The import, then, of this great service is this. The elements are first an offering of the people. In the American rite they are placed on the prothesis, where they remain until a formal offering of them is made in the *prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant*, when they are placed upon the altar and offered to God. They are still nothing more than bread and wine, but they have a relative holiness because they are appropriated to be used for a holy purpose. They are by sacred acts and words to be offered as symbols and memorials of Christ in His work of redemption. To use the words of Pusey, by this act, this offering, this oblation we plead to God the great act of redemption once for all made upon the cross. It is after this that the subject of the real Presence comes into view, when we pray that the Holy Ghost may make them the body and blood of Christ to us in the reception and not in the offering, in the grace which they convey to us and not in what we present to God.

Here probably is the mistake which has been made. When we have presented this bread and this cup to God, He, after the invocation, gives back to us the offering as the living bread which is to nourish our souls. It is after that we have presented the memorial of the great sacrifice that our souls are fed and

nourished with the bread of eternal life, as it has become by the operation of the word and Holy Spirit. It is no production of Christ on the altar that we may offer Him to God, but it is God making our offering that bread. It is God now who makes it the feast and the sacrifice for us, when we may sit at His table and be nourished unto eternal life.

This will require our attention when we come to consider the invocation.

This part of the Eucharist has been called the Christian sacrifice. In this respect the Eucharist is an act of worship rendered unto God, and it also becomes an instrument of grace. The oblation is the significant act of the one, and the invocation is the significant act of the other. Each of these acts has at times prevailed over the other. There are seasons in the Church when the attention has been almost exclusively directed to the one, and the other has been overlooked. We see this to-day. In the Romish Church the Eucharist, as an act of worship, demands almost exclusive attention. *To say mass ; to offer mass*, is the general expression ; while with us it is *to receive the communion ; to come to holy communion ; to celebrate the communion*. These are the expressions of the Book of Common Prayer. In the early Church the two acts were combined in the names and in the attention, but one began to overshadow the other. The one received the attention to the exclusion of the other. Thus in the Romish Church the

communion is generally administered only at long intervals—at Easter and Christmas ; while with us it is becoming almost universal to celebrate the communion on every Sunday morning, and in some places there is a daily celebration. Yet the great idea of oblation and sacrifice is rarely brought out prominently and the mind of the Church is not fastened on the act of worship when we present these memorials of the cross and redemption.

At the Reformation this part of the Christian worship was almost all that was attended. The great cathedrals of Europe were built with respect to this part of the Christian worship. The great building held the multitude of worshippers, but the voice of the celebrant could not be heard. As a priest once expressed it, it was like a great river supplied by numerous small rivulets. Each worshipper on his knees saying his private prayer was one of the rivulets, but the celebrant uttering the words of the mass was the instrument through which all the private prayers unite to make the great stream. This is quite pretty, but it is a one-sided view of worship. It was this which helped to bring on the Reformation, and to bring back the worship to the state in which it was when St. Paul, in the fourteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, expected the one officiating to speak in a language which could be understood by all, and therefore heard by all. And this is the conception of the Book of Common Prayer.

When we are exalting the oblation in the service we must remember what it is, and the important and significant part that it fills in this appointed act of worship. It is to make a memorial before God. It is to make an offering unto Him. It has, therefore, especial reference to God. Now any such act as this we call a sacrifice* without having in view any exact definition of it as such. It came under suspicion because it was supposed to be claimed that it was an act in which the Lord Jesus was offered. People drew back from the doctrine of the Romish Church as expressed by Bishop England, but the making a memorial of Him before the Eternal Father, laying before Him the symbols, the showing by these symbolical means our faith in the cross, our trust and reliance on the great mediatorial work of the everlasting Son, this is our sacrifice,† this is what the Church understands by the Eucharist sacrifice.

* St. Isidore says : “*Sacrificium dictum quasi sacrum factum, quia prece mystica consecratur in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis.*” Liber Etymologiarum, lib. 6, cap. 19. Sacrifice, according to Bishop England and the Roman Catholics generally, is conceived “to consist in the production of the victim, its oblation by a lawful minister, and a destructive change being made therein in acknowledgment of God’s supreme dominion.” Translation of the Mass, p. x.

† “This, shortly, is the mind of Lombardus, the master of the sentences : ‘That the thing which is done at God’s board is a sacrifice, and so is that also which was made upon the cross, but not after one manner of understanding. For this

There is no presumption in this. It is done in all humility, while to produce Christ and to offer Christ would be the most presumptuous act of which we could be the authors. But if we look at the sacrifice as the representing unto God of His own appointed work—the mediation of His own Son, as we name before Him the passion, the resurrection, the ascension—and remind, as it were, God Himself what His Son did for us, what a beautiful illustration of faith, and trust, and love, and humility does it become. We come to God pleading the intervention of His Son. We are in act saying unto the Father that “ He so loved us as to give His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but shall have everlasting life.” Every communicant should, therefore, when the oblation is made, have clearly and distinctly before his mind Christ in all the acts by which He became our Redeemer.

After the prayer of *invocation* we proceed to say : “ Mercifully accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving ;” and it is in consequence of these words sometimes maintained that the material of the sacrifice is not bread and wine, but the mental act in the words of praise and thanksgiving. But one who reads the Book of Leviticus must know that the material was the thing, indeed, and that is the anniversary or commemoration of the thing.’ ”

Anglo-Catholic Library. Works of Archbishop Laud, note, vol. i., p. 340.

terial sacrifice received various names according to the purpose for which the sacrifice was offered. The thank-offerings under the law were the offerings of some material things, but that material substance was offered on one occasion for a thanksgiving (7 : 12), at another for propitiation (7 : 7), and again for an acknowledgment of some relation to God (7 : 29), and then the offering or the sacrifice received its name from the purpose which was intended by the sacrifice. So in the Eucharist it is in the first place a commemoration. In making the offering of the elements we are by this act making a memorial before God of the work of redemption. But sacrifice does not rest simply in the mental act of reminding ourselves of the acts of the Son of God, nor does it consist simply in the rehearsal of those acts before God to put Him, as it were, in mind of the meritorious work of the Redeemer, but by the offering of the elements we make a symbolical memorial, and call it the commemorative sacrifice. So by the same sacred acts of offering the sacramental elements we offer our “praise and thanksgiving for our redemption and reconciliation to God;” and after the manner of the old sacrifices under the law we call it our “sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.”

CHAPTER IV.

THE VIEWS OF THE DOCTORS OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

IT is proper now to inquire what were the views of the great theological writers of the first ages. What was it that they taught was offered in the oblation ? How did they understand the acts and words of the liturgy which they were using ? Did they suppose and teach that the offering in the liturgy, that the oblation which was made in the worship of the Church, was the very Christ, or the very body and blood ; or did they hold that it was a commemorative offering of the great work which He did once for all on the cross ?

The language of the great representative teachers of those ages was not as direct and explicit as it is to day, for the reason that the controversy had not then arisen concerning the nature of that offering. They had not asked what it was that the Church offered. There was at first none who asserted that the offering was Christ Himself. It first in modern times came up at the Council of Florence. It is not to be expected that we shall find expressions as clear and distinct as we shall after the matter had come into controversy ; but still when such writers as Justin

Martyr and Irenæus speak of the oblation, they do not leave much doubt in our minds what kind of an oblation they are speaking of. They will make it clear that they were speaking of such a service as has come down to us, such as is contained in the liturgies; and that their teaching was in accordance with the words and acts of the public service of the Church. It will be seen that they do not take their doctrine from other great teachers, but that they take the doctrine from the liturgy itself, that what was taught there, that they reiterated in their sermons, epistles, and treatises.

The first witness which we introduce is Justin Martyr, A.D. 140. He was born about the close of the first century. He was very evidently a diligent student of the Old Testament, and a careful observer of the Church's service, as he shows in his "Apology" and in his "Dialogue with Trypho." He refers to the oblation in these words: "In* like manner the oblation of the flour, which was commanded to be offered for those who were cleansed from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which Jesus Christ our Lord commanded us to offer in remembrance of the passion which He underwent." So also† in quoting the passage from Malachi (page 10), in which God, through the prophet, says that in every place incense shall be offered unto My name and a

* Dialogue with Trypho, p. 121. Oxford translation.

† *Ibid.*

pure offering, “ He observes that with regard to those sacrifices which are offered to Him in every place by us Gentiles—that is, the Eucharistical bread, and equally the Eucharistical cup ; He then foretold that we should glorify His name.” Again he says : “ It is* plain that this prophecy (Isa. 33 : 13–20) speaks of the bread which our Christ gave us to offer (*ποιεῖν εἰς αναμνησιν*) in commemoration of His having taken flesh in behalf of those who believe in Him, for whose sake also He suffered ; and of the cup which He directed us to offer for a remembrance of His blood (*ὅ εἰς αναμνησιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ παραδώνειν . . . ποιεῖν*) when we celebrate the Eucharist.”

The next writer we produce is Irenæus. He had conversed with Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna. Irenæus became the Bishop of Lyons, in Gaul, after the martyrdom of Pothinus. He wrote about 167 A.D.: “ Giving† direction to His disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of His own created things—not as if He stood in need of them, but that they might be themselves neither unfruitful nor ungrateful—He took that created thing bread and gave thanks, and said, ‘ This is My body.’ And the cup likewise, which is part of that creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His blood, and taught the new

* Dialogue with Trypho, p. 162. Oxford translation.

† Irenæus, Book 4, chap. 17, sec. 5, p. 436. Edinburgh translation.

oblation of the new covenant, which the Church, receiving from the apostles, offers to God throughout the world." And again he writes : " We* offer to Him His own," which cannot fail to point to the frequent language of the liturgies, " We set before Thee Thine own out of Thine own gifts." And he proceeds that " the bread which has received the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist."

Tertullian,† A.D. 192, makes frequent mention of the Eucharist as an oblation ; but there is one passage which shows what he understood to be the nature of that offering. He says, as Justin Martyr said before him, that the mysteries of Mithra are an imitation of the rites of the Church, and adds that he " celebrates also the oblation of bread."

Origen,‡ A.D. 230, writes : " If you turn your thoughts to that bread which comes down from heaven and gives life to the world, to that shew-bread which God has set in open view, as being preparatory by faith in His blood, of which our Lord has said, ' Do this for a memorial of Me,' you will find that this is the only memorial which renders God propitious to men."

Eusebius, the historian,§ A.D. 315, writes : " We

* Irenæus, Book 4, chap. 18, sec. 5, p. 435.

† De præscriptione Hereticorum, chap. 40.

‡ Hom. in Leviticum.

§ Demonstratio Evangelica, chap. 10.

celebrate the memorial of this sacrifice on the table by the symbols ($\deltaια \sigmaυμβολων$) of His body and His saving blood.” On Mal. 1 : 10 he writes again : “ We offer both sacrifices and incense ; the one when we celebrate the memorial of the great sacrifice, according to the mysteries delivered to us by Him, and when we present the Eucharist to God for our salvation by pious hymns and prayer ; the other,” etc. He also writes in his Commentary on Genesis, chap. 49 : “ Christ Himself delivered to His disciples the symbols of the Divine economy, commanding us to offer the image ($\tauην εικονα$) of His own body ; for since God no longer designed bloody sacrifices, . . . He has by tradition instructed us to use bread as a symbol ($\sigmaυμβολον$) of His body.”

Athanasius,* A.D. 326, says what almost all the early doctors say, “ that the offering of Melchisedec, because he offered bread and wine, was a type of the offering of the unbloody sacrifice, . . . that it was a type of the holy oblation.”

Macarius,† a presbyter of Alexandria, A.D. 373, said in a homily that “ at that time great men, just men, and prophets knew that a Redeemer was coming, but they did not know that He should suffer and be crucified, and shed His blood upon the cross, . . . nor that in the Church bread and wine should be offered, the symbols of His body and His blood.”

* Historia de Melchisedec. † Macarius, Homilies, p. 108.

Theodore,* A.D. 423, in answer to the question, “ Of what are the mystic symbols offered by the priests of God a sign ? ” replies : “ Of the body and blood of our Lord ; ” also he says “ the Church offers the symbols of His body and blood.”

Fulgentius,† A.D. 533, writes : “ Believe steadfastly and in no way doubt that the only begotten Son of God, being made flesh for us, did offer Himself as a sacrifice to God as a sweet savor, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost in the Old Testament beasts were offered ; and to whom now, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, with whom He hath one Divinity, the Holy Catholic Church throughout the world ceases not to offer the sacrifices of bread and wine in faith and charity. For in those carnal victims the flesh of Christ was signified which He Himself would offer for our sins ; but in this sacrifice there is a giving of thanks, and a commemoration of the flesh of Christ, which He offered for us, and of the blood, which the same God shed for us.”

In the Apostolical Constitutions, which represent the customs and form of thought in the Church of the third and fourth centuries, we find the following : “ Instead‡ of bloody sacrifices, He hath ap-

* Dial, p. 84, and Ps. 109.

† De fide ad Patrum. See Cave’s Historia Literaria under Augustinus, quoted by Bishop Cooper against private masses, p. 94.

‡ Chase’s Translation of the Apostolic Constitution, Book 6, chap. 23, p. 155.

pointed that reasonable and unbloody and mystical one of His body and blood, which is performed to represent by symbols the death of the Lord.” And again : “ Offer* the acceptable Eucharist, the representation of the royal body of Christ both in your churches and in the cemeteries.”

In the second canon of the Council of Ancyra, A.D. 315, the deacon is forbidden “ to offer the bread and the cup.” The Council of Laodicea, A.D. 367, in canon 49, forbids “ to offer bread during the forty days of Lent, except on the Sabbath and on the Lord’s day.” The third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, in canon 24, forbids “ that in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ anything else may be offered except that which the Lord Himself taught ; that is, bread and wine.”

The above writers use a uniform language. They say that it is bread and wine that are offered as a memorial. They do not use other expressions which qualify this language. They show that they had before their minds the order and language of the liturgies—that “ the elements, the gifts and donations ;” “ Thine own out of Thine own ;” “ the first-fruits of His creatures ;” “ the antitypes of His body and blood”—were offered. They do not use such language as that, “ The victim is produced on the altar and that this victim is offered.” They do not say that the body and blood of Christ are offered, except

* Book 6, chap. 30, p. 162.

in such an application as was afterward explained by St. Augustine.* It may have been natural to fall into such language when they had in their minds that the sacramental bread and wine represented the body and blood of Christ. It might be natural to add these words, and not to say that it was simply bread and wine that they presented to God the Father, but bread and wine, which were the symbols, or the representations of that one offering of the Son of God ; but they never used any such unqualified and direct language as is used in the modern Church of Rome. But, above all, it must be remembered that after the *oblation* was made there was an invocation of the Holy Ghost that the common bread and wine might become the body and blood of Christ. The language which has been quoted applied to the oblation which was made before the prayer for the Holy Ghost to make them the body and blood of Christ was uttered. It was this language of the liturgies which was before the minds of these writers—a language to which they have at every celebration of the Eucharist given utterance.

This will be shown more clearly when the invocation comes up for consideration.

But there is another class of writers who use other expressions which seem to indicate that it is Christ Himself, or His body and blood, that is offered.

Probably St. Cyprian was the first of these. He

* See above.

was Bishop of Carthage in A.D. 248. He was a man of vigorous mind, and usually gave strong expression to his views ; but his language is not clear to this point. He does not use expressions which leave no doubt on our minds that such was his opinion. On the contrary, he uses also the ordinary language of the Church—that the oblation was a memorial offering. Thus he says :* “ For who is more a priest of the Most High God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God, His Father, and offered that very same thing which Melchisedec offered—that is, bread and wine—to wit, His body and blood.” He also says : “ Because we make mention of His passion (for the Lord’s passover is the sacrifice which we offer) we ought to do nothing else than what He did, for the Scriptures say, ‘ As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death till He come.’ As often, therefore, as we offer this cup in commemoration of the Lord, and of His passion, let us do what it is known that the Lord did.” Again he says : “ For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is Himself the chief Priest of God the Father, and has first offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and has commanded this to be done in commemoration of Himself, certainly that priest truly discharges the office of Christ who imitates that which Christ did ; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in

* St. Cyprian’s Epis. ad Cæcil., 62. Edinburgh translation. 63, Oxford translation.

the church to God the Father when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ Himself to have offered.” Although the offering might have been expressed with more theological exactness, yet these various expressions in the same letter—“The Lord’s passion is the sacrifice which we offer ;” “ We offer this cup in commemoration of the Lord ;” “ He commanded this to be done in commemoration of Himself”—we should not be able to harmonize them on the supposition that Cyprian held that the offering was literally an offering of the body and blood of Christ.

St. Cyril,* the Bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 350, in his “Catechetical Lectures,” says : “ When we offer to Him our supplications . . . offer up Christ crucified for our sins.” How far this is to be taken in a literal sense does not appear. If others who succeeded him had not begun to use a less ambiguous language in regard to the offering in the Eucharist, we should hardly understand him to mean that the Eucharistic offering was Christ Himself, for he shows that he is commenting on the same liturgy which has come down to us when he said : “ The bread and the wine of the Eucharist before the *invocation* of the adorable Trinity were simply bread and wine, while after the *invocation* the bread becomes the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ ;” and again when he said : “ We call upon the merciful God to send forth the

* Catechetical Lectures. Oxford translation, pp. 268, 275.

Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him.” This is the language of the Greek liturgy which was lying before St. Cyril, and on which he was commenting. He is quoting portion after portion of it, and refers to the invocation three times, but there is no such oblation as that which he puts into words. He probably did not intend so to be understood. When he said, “We offer up Christ crucified for our sins,” he designed to express nothing more than the one celebrating according to the American book would mean if he should say that we were presenting Christ as a sacrifice for our sins, and as the meritorious cause of our redemption. His language would, if taken literally, no more agree with the liturgy of Jerusalem, which was evidently before him, than the language of Bishop England agrees with the mass.

It must be acknowledged that Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostom began to use language which did not accord with the language of the liturgy. Their language may have given occasion for the interpolation in the form of making the oblation of such phrases as “tremendous and unbloody sacrifice.” But it was a language which had not been in use from the beginning, and it is especially to be observed that Augustine as well as Ambrose and Chrysostom explains the language, and uses other phrases which qualify it, and entirely blunt the edge of such expressions as that Christ is offered in sacrifice.

Thus Ambrose, the Archbishop of Milan, A.D. 374,

in commenting on the thirty-eighth psalm, says : “ Now Christ does not seem to offer, yet He Himself is offered on earth, since the body of Christ is offered.” And he says in commenting on St. Luke : “ We doubt not that the angel is present when Christ is present, when Christ is immolated ;” but in his treatise, “ De Officiis,” he says : “ A shadow in the law, an image in the Gospel, truth in the heavens. Before a lamb was offered, now Christ is offered. . . . Here in image, there in truth, when He appears before the Father as an Advocate for us.” Which latter language must evidently qualify the former. To reverse the process, we would deprive language of much of its force. It is used in a metaphorical manner. It is a transfer of sense, which should deceive no one, but give only greater beauty and force.

St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, A.D. 396, says : “ Instead* of those oblations and sacrifices Christ’s body is offered and communicated to the receiver.” But then he uses this language : “ The† flesh and blood of this sacrifice before the advent of Christ was promised by victims (*victimas*) ; in the passion of Christ they were offered in reality ; after the ascension they were celebrated by a sacrament of memory.” In his epistle to Boniface‡ he explains this lat-

* De Civitate Dei, Book 17, chap. 20. Edinburgh translation.

† Contra Faustum, chap. 21.

‡ Ratramnus, Liber de Corp. et Sang., chap. 35.

ter language, and his explanations show that there was no disagreement with the previous form of expression. “ We often speak in this manner when Easter draweth nigh, ‘ To-morrow or the next day is the Lord’s passion,’ though He suffered so many years ago, and that but once for all. Likewise we say on the Lord’s day, ‘ On this day the Lord rose again,’ though so many years have passed since He rose. Why, then, is none so foolish as to charge us with falsehood for so speaking? It is because we name the days after their likeness to those on which the things themselves were done. Whence that is called the day of His resurrection, which is not so indeed, but like to it in the revolution of time ; and by reason of the celebration of the sacrament that is said to be done on this very day, which not on this day, but in former times was done. Was not Christ sacrificed in His own person? And yet in the sacrament He is offered up for the people not only during all the paschal solemnities, but every day. Wherefore He lieth not who, when questioned, answereth that Christ is now sacrificed. For if sacraments had not some resemblance to those things of which they are the sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all. But from this resemblance they oftentimes take names of the things themselves. As, then, after a certain sort the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the blood of Christ, the blood of Christ, so, too, the sacrament of the faith is the faith.”

On which Ratramnus,* about A.D. 850, remarks in his “Tract against Pachasius :” “We see Augustine saith that the sacraments are one thing, and the things of which they are the sacraments are another. For the body in which Christ suffered, and the blood which flowed from His side, are the things themselves, while the mysteries of these things are the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which are celebrated in memory of the Lord’s passion.”

These words of St. Augustine and the comment of Ratramnus serve as an explanation of much of the language of the great doctors of the fourth century. It is here made a question of rhetoric, and explained as such. The body and blood of Christ are not so called because in the sacrament they are the reality, but because they represent the reality. This is an important explanation, and should remove most of the difficulty which is found in these expressions. It is with truth said that the rhetoric of the ancients has become the logic of the moderns.

St. Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, A.D. 398, says : “Offer† always the same, so that it is one sacrifice ; otherwise, since the sacrifice is offered in many places, there must be many Christs. But this is not the case ; but there is one Christ everywhere—whole Christ here, whole Christ there, one body.

* Liber de Corp. et Sang., p. 44, chap. 36.

† Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews 9 : 26. Oxford translation.

As therefore He is one body, though offered in many places, and not many bodies, so likewise is there one sacrifice. It is that High Priest of ours who has offered the sacrifice which cleanses ; and we offer even now that sacrifice which was then, too, offered—the inexhaustible sacrifice. This happens in memory of that which then took place ; for ‘ Do this,’ He says, ‘ in memory of Me.’ It is not a different sacrifice as the high priest presented in former times, but we offer always the same, or rather we perform a memorial of that sacrifice.”

Very obviously St. Chrysostom had the same view as Ratramnus* when he said : “ What He did once He daily repeateth. He once offered Himself for the sins of the people, yet the same oblation is every day to be celebrated by the faithful, but in mystery, so that what the Lord Jesus Christ, by once offering Himself, fully accomplished, this, in remembrance of His passion, is every day performed by the celebration of the mysteries. Yet it is not false to say that in these mysteries the Lord is sacrificed or suffers, since they have a likeness to that death and passion, the representations of which they are, for they take the names of those things of which they are the sacraments.”

The purpose, then, of the oblation must be apparent from the teaching of the great doctors of the early Church, as well as from the language of the liturgies.

* Ratramnus, cap. 39, 40.

They all agree that in making the oblation they are making a memorial. Whatever other language they use, they all agree that they are making a memorial before God of the acts of the Redeemer—His passion, His death, His resurrection, His ascension, His sitting at the right hand of the Father, His second coming to judgment.

CHAPTER V.

VIEW OF ANGLICAN THEOLOGIANS.

IT is now necessary to inquire into the views of the Anglican Church, and find what is the doctrine of the oblation which has been taught by her.

From the time that the Anglican Church was brought under the dominion of Western theology, the doctrine of transubstantiation prevailed, which required a belief that Christ was produced upon the altar and was offered in sacrifice. This portion of the history of the Church of England may be divided into three epochs ; the *first* reaching from Wickliffe until the affairs of the Church were settled during the reign of Elizabeth ; the *second* was the development of theological thought under the reign of the Stuarts ; the *third* is the revival of historic theology during the present century.

Until the Reformation there was no Anglican theology. It was the theological thought which was developed during the mediæval ages. It was the theology of the Angelic Doctor, Aquinas, and the theology of Lombard, the Master of the Sentences. Their form of theological thought reigned almost supreme. The first real revolt was made by Wickliffe. He

made objections to the doctrine of transubstantiation. He called in question the statement that the elements were changed in their substance, but not in their accidents ; and with this that Christ, body and blood, soul and divinity, was offered in the oblation.

This, as has been stated, was one of the great questions which came up for discussion in the reign of Henry VIII. The leaders of thought in the Reformation denied the mediæval doctrine that Christ was produced on the altar, and that He was the object offered in the mass. It was against this that there was a revolt. Cranmer* said : “ When the old Fathers called the mass, or Supper of the Lord, a sacrifice, they meant that it was a sacrifice of lauds and thanksgivings, and so as well the people as the priest do sacrifice ; or else that it was a remembrance of the very true sacrifice propitiatory of Christ ; but they meant in no wise that it was a very true sacrifice for sin, and applicable by the priest to the quick and the dead.”

So Ridley said : “ The representation and commemoration of Christ’s death and passion, said and done in the mass, is called the sacrifice, oblation, or immolation of Christ *non rei veritate* (as learned men do write) *sed significandi mysterio.*”

So also John Lambert† says : “ Christ being offered

* Defence of Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, Book 5, chap. 16, p. 461, Jenkyn’s ed.

† A Treatise of the Sacrament.

up once for all in His own proper person, is yet said to be offered up (not only every year at Easter, but also every day) in the celebration of the sacrament, because His oblation, once forever made, is thereby represented."

Such were the views of the Reformers which were introduced into the liturgy of Edward VI. It was no longer held to be Christ that was offered, but the memorial and representation of Christ once for all offering Himself upon the cross.

And now came the construction and development of an English theology. It was no longer a quotation from the Angelic Doctor nor the opinion of the Master of the Sentences, but it was a theology founded on the opinions of the Church, on the decisions of the General Councils, and on the writings of the great teachers. We see in the Homilies that every doctrine is fortified by quotations from Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Cyprian, Augustine, and Chrysostom ; and this form of theological thought is exhibited and defended by Jewell in his "Apology for the Church of England," which thus became one of the earliest text-books of Anglican theology. It was theology founded on the Scriptures and the Fathers.

Thus Jewell,* Bishop of Salisbury, A.D. 1550, after quoting from Chrysostom, said : "Thus we offer up Christ—that is to say, an example, a commemoration, a remembrance of the death of Christ. This kind of

* Reply to Harding, p. 424.

sacrifice was never denied, but M. Harding's (the Romish opponent of Jewell) real sacrifice was never yet proved."

So Bishop Bilson* said : "The oblation of bread and wine for a thanksgiving to God and a memorial of His Son's death was so confessed and undoubted a truth in the Church of Christ, till your schoolmen began to wrest both Scriptures and Fathers to serve their *quidities*, that not only the liturgies under the names of Clement, Basil, and Chrysostom do mention it, . . . but also the very Missals used in your own churches at this day do confirm the same." He also says : "That which is offered and consecrated by the priest is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a memory and representation of the true sacrifice and holy oblation made on the altar of the cross."

This was not only the language of the Reformation, but it became the continuous language of the great theologians of the Church of England. Their theology became a harmonious body of truth of the doctrine concerning redemption by Christ. Richard Hooker's great work on "Ecclesiastical Polity" was written in harmony with the language of the Church of the first six centuries. It was that great body of truth which he brought to bear on the controversy with the Puritans, and showed how it condemned the error of excess, of the mediæval additions to the faith, as well as the defect of the faith, created by the un-

* Of Subjection and Rebellion, p. 700.

limited exercise of private judgment. The form of Christian truth settled down into the expression which he gave to it ; but no doubt Hooker was under the influence which has shaped modern thought, and which is called the subjective view of Christian doctrine and of the sacrament of the holy Eucharist ; so that he fastened his attention more particularly and almost exclusively on the grace that it conferred upon us, and not on what we offered in it unto God ; so he said that there was no sacrifice in the Eucharist. But in saying this he had no doubt reference to the oblation which was supposed to be offered in the mass ; and hence in the rejection of this he rejected sacrifice or oblation altogether.

But as we come to the *second epoch* of Anglican theology we find a more settled conviction of the truth. The controversy with Rome and an examination of the doctrines of Rome came up anew. The troubles in the times of the Stuarts produced some profound theologians, who examined with learning and acuteness the question of transubstantiation, and all the inferences and practices to which that doctrine led. The writers of this epoch have constructed a body of Divine truth, the knowledge of which is requisite for those who are enrolled as teachers of the Church. Chief among them are Andrews, and Laud, and Mede, and Bramhall, and Thorndike, and Taylor, and Brevint, and Bull, and Nelson, and Wilson, and Brett. They use a uniform language concerning the

Romish doctrine, and also concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist as it was taught in the primitive Church. They drew in their inspiration from the Fathers. It was their profound study of those who lived nearest the origin of the Christian Church that gave them clear and distinct views of every point of Christian doctrine.

Bishop Andrews,* A.D. 1660, says : “Take away from the mass your transubstantiation, and there will be no longer any controversy with us concerning the sacrifice. That a memory is there made we grant willingly. That your Christ (*de pane factum*) made of bread is sacrificed we will never grant.”

Archbishop Laud,† A.D. 1628, said : “If Bellarmine do call the oblation of the body and the blood of Christ a sacrifice for praise, surely he doth well in it ; for so it is if Bellarmine mean no more by the body and the blood of Christ than a commemoration and a representation of that sacrifice offered up by Christ Himself, as Bishop Jewell very learnedly and fully acknowledges. But if Bellarmine go farther than this, and by the oblation of the body and the blood of Christ mean that the priest offers up that which Christ Himself did, and not a commemoration of it only, he is erroneous in that, and can never make it good.”

* Translated from *Responsio ad Apologiam*. Anglo-Catholic Library, p. 251.

† History of the Troubles and Trials of Archbishop Laud. Anglo-Catholic Library, p. 258.

Joseph Mede,* A.D. 1635, says as follows : “ Christ is offered in this sacred supper not hypostatically, as the Papist would have Him (for so He was but once offered), but commemoratively only—that is, by the sacred rite of bread and wine we present and inculcate His blessed passion to His Father ; we put Him in mind thereof by setting the monuments thereof before Him ; we testify our own mindfulness thereof unto His sacred majesty ; that so He would for His sake, according to the terms of His covenant in Him, be favorable and propitious unto us miserable sinners.”

Archbishop Bramhall,† A.D. 1633, says that “ the priest was ordained to offer a representative sacrifice, to commemorate and to apply the sacrifice which Christ made upon the cross ; but for any other sacrifice distinct from that, which is propitiatory, meritorious, and satisfactory by its proper virtue and power, the Scriptures do not authorize, the Fathers did not believe, the Protestants do not receive any such.”

Bishop Cosin,‡ A.D. 1670, says : “ If we take a sacrifice properly and formally, whether for the action of sacrificing (as it is this day taken by the Roman priests), then truly, although, by the commemoration and representation, it be the same memorial sacrifice

* The Christian Sacrifice, p. 374.

† Protestant Ordinations Defended. Discourse VII. Anglo-Catholic Library, p. 213.

‡ Notes on Book of Common Prayer. Anglo Catholic Library, vol. v., p. 330.

with that which was offered on the cross, yet the action itself or the oblation which is now made by us in the Eucharist agrees neither in species nor genus with the oblation or immolation which was on the cross.”

So Bishop Jeremy Taylor,* A.D. 1674, says : “ As Christ is pleased to represent to His Father that great sacrifice as a means of atonement and expiation for all mankind, and with special purpose and intend-
ment for all the elect, all that serve Him in holiness,
so He hath appointed that the same ministry shall be
done upon earth, too, in our manner and according
to our proportion ; and therefore hath constituted
and separated an order of men who, by showing forth
the Lord’s death by sacramental representation, may
pray unto God after the same manner that our Lord
and High Priest does—that is, offer to God and rep-
resent in this solemn prayer and sacrament Christ as
already offered up.”

Herbert Thorndike,† A.D. 1662, says : “ Common sense, which tells all men that what is once done can never be done again, obliges them to understand an abatement in the property of that language which attributes the sacrificing of Christ to a priest, because once done upon the cross it can never be done again.” And he also says that the Romanists suppose that

* *Holy Living*, sec. 10, chap. 4.

† *Of the Laws of the Church*, vol. iv., pp. 122, 567. Anglo-Catholic Library.

" this sacrifice consists in substituting the 'body and blood of Christ to be bodily present under the accidents of the elements, the substance of them being abolished, and ceasing to be there any more ; and not in offering and presenting the sacrifice of Christ crucified, here now represented by the sacrament, unto God, for obtaining the benefits of His passion in behalf of His Church."

Richard Crankenthorpe,* A.D. 1600, writes : " From these things, which we have now declared concerning your transubstantiation, two besides many other things follow. The first is that the sacrifice of the mass is not truly a propitiatory sacrifice, as the Council of Trent and your theologians teach, but only a Eucharistic and commemorative sacrifice. That which is properly a propitiatory sacrifice by its own force, not by the relation which it holds to another, makes God propitious to sinners, and by its own merits, strength, value, and dignity obtains remission of sins and the grace of God. There is no such sacrifice, or ever has been, or ever will be, except Christ alone offering on the cross to God His body and His blood. He Himself and besides Him no one is a propitiation for our sins. Christ is not in the Eucharist after the manner of a body (*corporaliter*), as we have shown, and so His body and blood is not able to be offered except after the manner of a type (*typicé*), and by way (*per mo-*

* *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, chap. 74, p. 536. Anglo-Catholic Library.

dum) of commemoration. Wherefore what is offered in the mass really and by the hands of a priest (*sacrifici*) is not able to be a true and proper propitiatory sacrifice.”

D. Brevint,* A.D. 1680, wrote : “ This sacrifice, which is a *real oblation*, was not to be offered more than once, is by an Eucharistical and devout commemoration to be offered up every day. This is what the apostle calls ‘ to set forth the death of the Lord ;’ to set it forth, I say, as well before the eyes of God, His Father, as before the eyes of all men ; and what St. Augustine did explain when he said that the holy blood of Jesus Christ was offered up in three manners—by *prefiguring* sacrifices under the law, before His coming into the world ; in real deed upon the cross ; and by a *commemorative sacrifice* after He had ascended into heaven. All comes to this, that the sacrifice as it is itself and in itself can never be restored ; yet by way of devout celebration and remembrance it may nevertheless be reiterated every day. Secondly, that whereas the holy Eucharist is by itself a sacrament wherein God offers unto all men the blessing merited by the oblation of His Son, it likewise becomes, by our remembrance, a kind of *sacrifice* also whereby to obtain from His hands the same blessings ; we present and expose before His eyes the same holy and precious oblation once offered.”

* Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice, p. 56.

So Bishop Patrick,* A.D. 1659 : “ We do show forth the Lord’s death unto God, and commemorate before Him the great things that He hath done for us. We keep it (as it were) in His memory, and plead before Him the sacrifice of His Son, which we show unto Him, humbly requiring that grace and pardon, with all other benefits of it, may be bestowed upon us.”

Bishop Bull,† A.D. 1680, who observes the beauty of the oblation as an act of worship in the liturgies, says : “ In the holy Eucharist, therefore, we set before God the bread and wine, as figures or images of the precious blood of Christ shed for us and of His precious body (they are the very words of the Clementine liturgy), and plead to God the merits of His Son’s sacrifice, once offered on the cross for us sinners, and in this sacrament represented, beseeching Him, for the sake thereof, to bestow His heavenly blessings upon us.”

Bishop Beveridge,‡ A.D. 1680, says : “ We may here observe that the apostle does not say that Christ’s death is repeated, or that He is offered up again every time the sacrament is administered, but only that the Lord’s death is shown by it ; and therefore this is not, as the Papists absurdly imagine, ‘ a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead,’ but only commemo-

* *Mensa Mystica*, p. 10.

† *Bull’s Works*, vol. ii., p. 246.

‡ *The Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion*, p. 5.

rative and declarative of that one sacrifice which Christ once offered, to be propitiation for the sins of the whole world.”

George Hicks,* A.D. 1707, says that in the ancient Church the Eucharistic sacrifice was “believed to be an *αὐτομνησις*, or commemoration by the symbols of bread and wine of the body and blood of Christ, once offered up to God on the cross for our redemption ; it would not, therefore, be then thought an offering up again to God of the very body and blood of Christ substantially present under the appearances of bread and wine ; for these two notions are inconsistent and cannot stand together.”

Bishop Wilson,† A.D. 1710, says : “All this is done to represent the death of Jesus Christ and the mercies which He has obtained for us ; to represent it not only to ourselves, but unto God the Father, that as the prayers and alms of Cornelius are said to have gone up for a memorial before God, so this service may be an argument with His Divine Majesty to remember in heaven His Son’s death, as we do on earth, and for His sake to blot out our sins and to give us all an interest in His merits.”

Thomas Brett,‡ A.D. 1700, says : “Christ offered the symbols of His body, which was not yet broken,

* Dean of Worcester on the Christian Priesthood vol. iii., p. 270. Anglo-Catholic Library.

† Parochalia.

‡ Collection of Principal Liturgies with Dissertation, p. 135.

and His blood, which was not yet shed upon the cross, but which was to be there broken and shed ; but we offer the symbols of His long-since broken and of His blood long since shed. He in His oblation gave His natural body to be broken and His blood to be shed ; but we in ours only commemorate and offer to God the memorial of what was then done.”

These persons were the representatives of the theology of the Church of England ; they represented the historical theology of the Church. They were diligent students of the Fathers of the first six centuries. These doctrines were not the result of private judgment, of their own unaided conceptions of what the Word of God taught, but these opinions and doctrines which they set forth were the opinions and doctrines which had been maintained in the Church age after age, which had their beginning from the apostles. These were the doctrines in which those hundred and twenty assembled in the upper room of Jerusalem, and those who were joined to them, continued steadfastly (Acts 2 : 42), which were taught and proclaimed by apostles and persons who had attended on the personal ministry of our Lord. The theology of this second epoch of the English Church was saturated by the teaching and the sayings of the great bishops and doctors of the first ages. More names might be added, and other great teachers might be introduced as the witnesses of the belief and doctrine of the Church of England. These teachers did

not draw their inspiration from the continental divines nor did they follow the mediævalists, the Angelic Doctor, or the Master of the Sentences, but they went back to the ages of the General Councils, and to the liturgies which used the language of the universal Church, and to the expositions which were made by Justin, and Irenæus, and Cyprian, and Cyril, and Augustine, and Chrysostom. They drew their knowledge and interpretation of the facts of Christianity from an age which conceived that truth was to be preferred even to unity.

We now come to the *third* epoch of Anglican theology. The eighteenth century was certainly not distinguished for the study of the doctrines of the Church. The duty which came up in that age was even a more serious one. It was the defence of the Christian religion itself. The previous epoch brought the clergy of the Church of England into contact with the claims of the Roman Church. The revolt at the Reformation had to be justified and maintained, and the whole question between Roman and Catholic doctrine had to be opened anew ; and in no writers do we see more profound learning and a clearer perception of the revealed doctrines of the Christian religion.

But there is an apology to be made for the teaching of the period from the last of the Stuarts to the beginning of the present century. The Church inherited a theology which failed to teach and to bring out into practice those doctrines in which the redemption

of the human soul was involved. The deism of the beginning of the eighteenth century was to be encountered and overcome ; and that century, although it was not theological, yet did a service which was possibly not appreciated, and which kept out of view the teaching of the creed and the sacraments, but it brought forward a view of the foundations on which the faith rested. It gave us Butler's "Analogy" and Leslie's "Deism," and a host of treatises of similar import, which did their work in their day and created a confidence in the Christian faith, which even the scientific speculations of the present have not removed.

But there came a revival of theological teaching in our day, especially in the first part of the nineteenth century ; and particularly in the publications at Oxford of the *Library of the Fathers* of the first four centuries, and the republication of the works of the great theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the name of "The Anglo-Catholic Theology." These publications constituted an epoch in the Anglican Church wherever it existed ; and there was thus a revival of the teaching of such great doctors as Andrews, and Laud, and Cousin, and Thordike, and Bull, and numerous others.

The first representative of the opinions of the Church in this period is Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut. As it was through his means that the *oblation* and *invocation* were restored to the use in the Anglican service in America, his opinions would be valu-

able.* He denies the doctrine of transubstantiation, and speaks of the defect in the English service in that it has not the oblation of the elements ; which at least shows that he did not consider the oblation to consist in offering Christ in the Eucharist, but it was a representation of Christ as the only sacrifice for sin.

The next that may be brought forward is Archdeacon Daubeny, of Salisbury, in 1807. He says that “the holy Eucharist is a commemorative sacrifice offered up to God by way of memorial, or bringing to remembrance that grand sacrifice once offered on the cross, and for the purpose of applying the merits of it to the parties who in faith offer it up.”

Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, in 1836, in a charge delivered to the clergy, said : “ . . . the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, the commemorative sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, in which the action and suffering of our great High Priest are represented and offered to God on earth, as they are continually by the same High Priest Himself in heaven ; the Church on earth doing after its measure the same thing as the Head in heaven—Christ in heaven presenting the sacrifice and applying it to its purposed end properly and gloriously ; the Church on earth commemorative-ly and humbly, yet really and effectively, by praying to God, with thanksgiving, in the virtue and merit of that sacrifice which it thus exhibits.”

* Beardsley’s Life of Seabury gives us almost no information on this subject.

The Rev. William Palmer revived in England the study of liturgies. In his “*Origines Liturgicæ*” he investigated the relation of the English Book of Common Prayer to the great liturgies of the Church down to the seventeenth century ; and showed that the liturgy now in use was, in all its essential parts, identical with the liturgy in which the whole Catholic Church had worshipped during the first six centuries. This is what he says of the *oblation* and *invocation* after he had studied those acts of the liturgies of the great Patriarchates of the first centuries. After quoting the words of the oblation from the liturgy of Clement he says : “Here the bread and wine are evidently spoken of as the sacrifice ; for when God is implored to send His Holy Spirit on the sacrifice, that the bread may be made Christ’s body, and the wine His blood, it seems evident that the bread and wine are identical with the sacrifice ; otherwise there is no connection between the former and the latter parts of the prayer.”*

There being no oblation of the elements in the English liturgy, there is no way in which we can make a comparison of its teaching with that of the Anglican theologians. The elements are placed on the altar. The mere placing them there is an oblation. The mere act pleads to God ; but the American liturgy is far more significant when we express in words the act that we are performing. Thus Bishop Wilson, in “*Sacra*

* *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. ii., p. 80.

Privata," advises the priest and the communicant to supply this defect by saying from the liturgy of Clement, " We offer to Thee, our King and our God, this bread and this cup." But Keble,* in his " Eucharistical Adoration," says : " Not as if, according to the Roman writers, the expiatory sacrifice on the cross were repeated or continued on our altars. The Epistle to the Hebrews, and the ancient Church commenting on it, as expressly negative any such statement, as they affirm the continuance of the pleading, commemorative sacrifice—the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ and of the benefits we receive thereby. The man Christ Jesus, according to the Catechism, is thus *virtually* present as the true Consecrator in our Eucharist. Still more distinctly are we there instructed concerning the real presence of His body and blood in that sacrifice to be first our oblation, and then our spiritual food. Combining the several statements, they amount to this : the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in that it is a sacrament, has always in it two parts, whereof the inward and spiritual part is the body and blood of Christ ; and it has two purposes : first, to be a continual remembrance or memory or memorial before God as well as man, not a repetition or continuance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ." And yet he says in the next paragraph : " He comes down in a

* Keble's Eucharistical Adoration, p. 74.

manner to offer Himself anew for each one of us in particular receiving Him worthily."

Canon Liddon says also, in his "Life of Dr. Pusey," any well-instructed Churchman knows that the body and blood of Christ is offered in the Eucharist. Keble uses in the above extract language which accords with the language of the liturgies, but his inferences and Liddon's do not accord with that language. As has been shown, there are no words used which say or imply that we in the Eucharist or that our Lord Himself makes such an offering. Logical inference cannot certainly take the place of the universal language of the liturgies.

W. G. Scudamore,* in his learned work, says : "In none of the most ancient memorials which we have cited does the priest profess to make an oblation of the body and blood of Christ Himself. They are strictly commemorative. The bread and wine, though now become by solemn consecration His body and blood, are still called the bread and cup."

It will be seen in the first chapter on the invocation that after that prayer they are no longer called bread and wine. The language at that point entirely changes ; but the elements, as has been shown, are named the bread and wine after the words of institution and after the oblation, but not after the invocation ; they are then called the body and blood of Christ. This is very clear in the American office,

* *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 651.

but even in those liturgies in which the prayer of invocation comes first they are still called the bread and wine, and so far justify the remarks of Scudamore, and do not accord with the language of Keble and Liddon.

There have in this and in the previous chapters been exhibited the nature and the object of the Eucharistic oblation, to which the Church in America, in the enlargement of the Prayer-Book in 1892, seems desirous of giving prominence and emphasis. The witness of all the great doctors of the early Church and of a long line in the Anglican Church is uniform. The oblation is not a presenting or offering of Jesus Christ, or of the body and blood of Christ. The holy gifts, having become holy by being set apart for sacramental purposes, are offered for a commemoration and a memorial to remind, as it were, the Almighty Father of what His Son did for us—to bring before Him “the blessed passion and precious death, the mighty resurrection and glorious ascension,” and to thank Him for the innumerable benefits procured thereby. We are also by this act setting before God our faith in the redemption of His Son. We are thus exhibiting our reliance on the work that He has done in our behalf. That is a glorious act of the Church. It is the most emphatic act of faith, and love, and gratitude. Any one who will look at the oblation in this light must see how it is the most emphatic act of our religion ; how it humbles us ; how it exalts Christ ;

and how it is the most real act of Christian worship. The oblation is not only asking through Christ and for His sake, but it is the putting before God the very acts which make Christian redemption possible.

PART SECOND.

THE INVOCATION.

"It is the spirit that quickeneth : the flesh profiteth nothing ; the words that I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life."—ST. JOHN 6 : 63.

CHAPTER I.

THE SPIRITUAL GIFT IN THE EUCHARIST.

WE come now to see distinctly how there are two parts of the Eucharist : the one which has reference to God, the other which has reference to us ; the one by which we move God to mercy by this great and emphatic act of our faith, in which by an oblation we place before God what He has done for us, and to show our faith in the Redeemer ; the other as it becomes an instrument by which He conveys to us a great spiritual gift. We are now to inquire what it is that in this second part He does for us, what benefit it is that we receive immediately through the elements which have received the invocation of the Holy Spirit.

If we examine carefully the service we shall find a change in the expressions which are used and which correspond with this twofold view. In the one it is the elements as they represent the redemptive acts of Christ ; in the other as they become the instruments to convey to us a blessing, to give us a great spiritual gift from God. In the Eucharistic service, before we get to the invocation we speak of the bread and wine which are placed and offered on the altar for the pur-

poses of the sacrament ; then we speak of the bread which He broke and the wine which He poured out ; then we say that we celebrate and make with the holy gifts which we offer the memorial which He commanded to be made ; and then, lastly, we pray that He would bless and sanctify "with His word and Holy Spirit these creatures of bread and wine." If there was any possibility of an ambiguity in the expressions which preceded this, yet the invocation must indicate that up to this moment the elements, with which the service was dealing, were the "creatures of bread and wine." Such they were at the beginning and such they have continued until after the invocation, at which time we adopt a different language. In accordance with what we have asked of God we now cease to speak of them in their natural state, and in the remaining part of the service we refer to them in their sacramental condition. We pray that "we and all who shall be partakers of this holy communion may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of His Son, Jesus Christ." And then when we come to partake, to commune on what has been so prominent in this service, it is said to each communicant, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee," and "the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee ;" and in the prayer which follows, when the participation has taken place, we give thanks "that Almighty and Everlasting God has vouchsafed to feed us, who have

duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of His Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ.” The elements are not now spoken of as bread and wine, but as *holy mysteries*. The word mystery means something which is visible and known, but implies that there is also something which is unseen. This is what we mean when we say, of any event, that it is a mystery. There is something which is outward and visible, but there is also something which is inward and hidden. This is one of the qualities of a sacrament. So the Catechism says that there are two parts to a sacrament : “The outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace.” In saying that we have received the holy mysteries, we imply that the elements of bread and wine, which were the oblation, have this twofold character which the sacramental name implies.

The *prayer of humble access* might seem to be an exception ; but, on the contrary, it conforms to what is said of the change of language after the invocation. This prayer was originally placed in the liturgy of Edward VI., and it stood immediately before the re-tepcion. In that position it was peculiarly significant ; for having completed the consecration by the words of institution, oblation, and invocation, the minister and communicants are to kneel down and say : “Grant us so to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His body and our souls

washed through His most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in Him and He in us.” It was then, immediately preceding the reception, that we are to say that we may be partakers of the body and blood of Christ. It was not only on our part a memorial, a thanksgiving, but our words regarded them according to the sacramental doctrine which is contained and expressed in the invocation. The position of the prayer was changed to serve a purpose ; but any one must feel that it is now misplaced, and that it does not keep up the continuity of thought and expression, but that it manifestly interrupts that thought, and might give rise to the very opposite of that which was in the mind of those who removed it from the place which was originally intended for it.

In order, then, to understand the import of the language which we use, we must, as we have in the case of the oblation, quote the words in which the invocation is made. The liturgy must come first, as that must give character to the act and interprets the meaning.

In the American Book of Common Prayer we say after the sacred words and after the oblation :

“ We most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and by Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that we, receiving them according to Thy Son, our Saviour’s holy institution, in remembrance

of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood."

In the Scotch liturgy the words are :

" Vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit these Thy creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son."

In the Roman mass it will depend on which prayer we consider to be the *prayer of invocation*. Before the sacred words there is this prayer :

" Which oblation do Thou, O God, we beseech Thee, vouchsafe to render in all respects blessed, approved, effectual, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may be made *unto us* the body and blood of Thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ."

Or if we take the prayer after the oblation as the invocation, it proceeds as follows :

" Upon which vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance, and accept them as Thou wast pleased graciously to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the immaculate host, which Thy high priest Melchisedec offered unto Thee.

" We humbly beseech Thee, O Almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel unto Thy high altar in the presence of Thy Divine Majesty ; that as many of us as by this participation of the altar shall receive the most sacred body and blood of Thy Son, may be replenished with all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord."

There is in these three offices a uniformity—namely, that after the oblation, following the *sacred words*, there is a prayer in each, that those who partake or who participate at the altar may receive the body and blood of Christ. Such is the language of the American office, and such is the language of the mass ; but the language of the Scotch office is more direct, and asks that the elements, or “creatures of bread and wine may become the body and blood of Christ.” The words of the American office would seem to be more in accord with those of St. Paul. “The cup which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ ?” It does not say that the cup which we bless is the blood, but the communion or the communication of the blood of Christ ; and we pray that we, receiving these creatures, which have been blessed and sanctified, “may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood.” In one respect this was no doubt intended as a modification of the Scotch office, and for that purpose the latter part of the prayer was taken from the present English office.

Let us now look at the language of the Greek office. Take, first, St. Clement’s as representing the most ancient form to proceed after the oblation.

“We beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously on these gifts now lying before Thee, O Thou Self-sufficient God, and accept them to the honor of Thy

Christ ; and send down Thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, on this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the body of Thy Christ, and this cup the blood of Thy Christ, that those who partake of it may be confirmed in godliness ; may receive remission of their sins ; may be delivered from the devil and his wiles ; may be filled with the Holy Ghost ; may be made worthy of Christ, and may obtain everlasting life.”

It will be observed that the same order is followed in the Prayer-Book that is followed in this most ancient liturgy. It is on these gifts, after they have been offered, that the Church prays that the Holy Spirit may descend and make them the body and blood of Christ.

In the liturgy of St. James the same order is maintained, and the prayer of invocation is in these words :

“ Send down, O Lord, this Thy most Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these Thy holy gifts here set before Thee, that by His holy, good, and glorious presence, He may sanctify and make this bread the body of Thy Christ ; that all who partake thereof may obtain remission of their sins and eternal life, may be sanctified in soul and body, and bring forth the fruits of good works.”

Here it will be observed that, notwithstanding the expressions in connection with the oblation—“ tremendous and unbloody sacrifice”—the Church prays that on these gifts here set before God the Holy Spirit may descend to make them the body and blood of

Christ ; and it may be observed also that they are called “ holy gifts,” as they are in the American office. Here, then, by the prayer of invocation the gifts become something which before they were not.

These are the words of invocation in the liturgy of St. Mark :

“ Send down Thine Holy Spirit upon us and upon these loaves and upon these cups, that the Almighty God may sanctify and thoroughly consecrate them, making the bread the body and the cup the blood of the New Testament of our Lord Himself, our God and Saviour, and Supreme Being, Jesus Christ, that they may be to us who partake of them the means of faith, sobriety, health, temperance, sanctification, the renewing of our souls, our body, and spirit.” In the prayer following this it is called “ the immortal, heavenly food,” and also that “ we may worthily partake of the good things lying before us, the spotless body and precious blood of Thine only begotten Son, our Lord, our God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.”

Here, again, is the change of language, the same as is found in the American service.

The same order and expressions are found in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom. The oblation is in these words, “ We offer to Thee Thine own out of Thine own gifts,” which is then called “ the tremendous and unbloody worship,” and then the prayer of invocation proceeds as follows :

“ And we pray, beg, and beseech Thee to send down Thine Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts lying before Thee.

. . . Make this bread the precious body of Thy Christ, and what is in this cup the precious blood of Thy Christ, . . . that it may be to those who partake of it for sobriety the remission of sins, the communication of the Holy Ghost, the fulness of the kingdom of heaven."

Here, again, the elements after the *sacred words* and the *oblation* are called still the gifts of God, and it is on these gifts lying before Him that the Church prays that they may become the body and blood of Christ. They now become something which before this prayer they were not. In which the Prayer-Book agrees in the order and in the intent of the Greek service which is used to-day in the Eastern and Russian churches.

In the liturgy of Edward VI. the *invocation* is placed the first of the three acts, the *sacred words* coming second, and the *oblation* last. No doubt this was done in imitation of the order in the Roman mass, and it would indicate also that the prayer preceding the sacred words was the one which was conceived to be the invocation. The invocation in this liturgy is in almost the same words as are used in the Scotch office, and the invocation in the American office differs little from it. It is hardly to be supposed that it was placed first of the three acts, in order that the elements might receive their new character, which makes them the means of giving us the body and blood of Christ, and that in this character they were offered in the oblation. The position that

it occupies makes that a possible, but not a probable interpretation. Such is the opinion of Brett.*

It is apparent, then, how clearly and distinctly the invocation gives expression to the spiritual benefits which come to us through the Eucharist.

And as a further expression of this the Eucharist has been called a federal rite, in imitation of the sacrificial feasts which are named in the Book of Leviticus. Part of the victim was consumed on the altar, a part was given to the priest, and a part was given back to the offerer, which he consumed. Thus it will at once be seen that there is in this respect something to suggest a likeness to the Christian sacrament. The elements are brought and placed on the altar for sacramental purposes, they are then offered unto God, and then they are consumed ; and this was commanded to be done at the door of the tabernacle (Lev. 3 : 2). So the eating of the Eucharist is to take place in the church. This in the Jewish service is called “the bread of God” (Lev. 21 : 7, 8, 21).

* Dr. Thomas Brett's Dissertation : Collection of Primitive Liturgies, p. 159. “The reason why we have not exactly followed the liturgy of Edward VI. in this point is because that liturgy has not herein exactly followed primitive antiquity, and comes too near the Canon of the Mass, where this prayer for the Divine benediction, to sanctify the bread and wine, precedes the words of institution, contrary to all other liturgies of the Christian Church, whether in the East or West ; and as that prayer was always placed in the last place to complete and perfect the consecration, and not to begin it.”

This is well stated by Dr. Kellogg :* “The offerer has brought the appointed victim ; it had been slain in his behalf ; the blood had been sprinkled for atonement on the altar ; the fat had been taken off and burned upon the altar ; parts had been given back by God to the officiating priest ; and now, last of all, the offerer himself receives back from God, as it were, the remainder of the flesh of the victim, that he himself might eat it before Jehovah.”

And this author has put the symbolical teaching of this part of the Jewish worship in a very clear light. He says : “When we ask, then, what was the food or ‘bread of God,’ of which He invited him to partake who brought the peace offering, and learn that it was the flesh of the slain victim, here we meet a thought which goes far beyond atonement by the shedding of blood. The same victim whose blood was shed and sprinkled in atonement for sin is now given by God to be the redeemed Israelite’s food by which his life shall be sustained. Surely we cannot mistake the meaning of this, for the victim of the altar and the food of the table are one and the same. Even so He who offered Himself for our sins on Calvary is now given by God to be the food of the believer ; who now thus lives by ‘eating the flesh’ of the slain Lamb of God. Does this imagery at first thought seem strange and unnatural ? So did it also

* The Book of Leviticus, by the Rev. S. H. Kellogg, D.D., p. 96.

seem strange to the Jews, when, in reply to our Lord's teaching, they wonderingly asked, 'How can this man give us His flesh to eat' (St. John 6 : 52). And yet so Christ spoke ; and when He had first declared Himself to the Jews as the antitype of the manna, the true bread sent down from heaven, He then went on to say, in words which far transcend the meaning of that type, 'The bread which I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world' (St. John 6 : 51). How the light begins now to flash back from the Gospel to the Levitical law, and from this, again, back to the Gospel ! In one we read, 'Ye shall eat the flesh of your peace offerings before the Lord with joy' (Deut. 27 : 7) ; in the other the word of the Lord Jesus concerning Himself (St. John 6 : 33, 55, 57), 'The bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven and giveth life unto the world. . . . My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. . . . As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me shall live by Me.' And now the Shekinah light of the ancient tent of meeting begins to illumine even the sacramental table, and as we listen to the words of Jesus, 'Take, eat, this is My body which was broken for you,' we are reminded of the feast of the peace offerings. The Israel of God is to be fed with the flesh of the sacrificed Lamb which became their peace."

We come now to look into the New Testament and

inquire for the authority which leads us to expect the Divine gift which is to follow the oblation, and which we ask for in the invocation. The most direct passage is that of St. Paul's (1 Cor. 10 : 16), "The cup which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" The word (*κοινωνία*) which we translate *communion*, in the Latin version is translated *communicatio*, which may mean an imparting to us of the body and blood of Christ. This is certainly implied in the language of St. Paul, that in partaking of the consecrated elements we partake also of the spiritual gift of the Eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ. This would appear to be the plain statement of the apostle; and this is what the faithful communicant would expect to receive, and which from the Divine words he would have a right to expect to receive. It does not settle or say what is the nature of the gift, or in what manner we receive the body and blood of Christ; but the language of the service does certainly accord with the language of St. Paul. We pray that we may partake of the body and blood of Christ, and we are bidden, on receiving the consecrated bread and wine, to receive the body and blood; and we immediately after the reception give thanks that we have been fed with "the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of God's Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ."

We may safely say that whatever the one means the other means ; whatever St. Paul meant, that the service or office means. It does not determine the nature of the Divine gift ; it simply says that what it received is the body and blood of Christ. If there is a difficulty in the one case, there is a difficulty in the other case. If there is any difficulty in the words of the service, there is the same difficulty in the words of St. Paul. The words of the service appear to be very strictly in accordance with the words of the apostle.

And possibly the words of the American office is more strictly in accord with the words of St. Paul than the words of the Scotch and of other offices. For the Scotch liturgy prays in the invocation, that “the creatures of bread and wine may become the body and blood of God’s most dearly beloved Son ;” while in the American office we say, “that we, receiving them according to Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ’s holy institution in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood.” The apostle says : “The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ ?”

But there is also the declaration of our blessed Lord in the discourse at Capernaum (St. John 6 : 53), and which is reiterated until it becomes remarkably emphatic : “ Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.” This

language is identical with that of St. Paul and with that of the Book of Common Prayer. Certainly it is declared by our Lord that we must eat and drink that which we give thanks has been given to us in the Holy Supper.

Whether in the discourse at Capernaum there was an immediate reference to the Eucharistic bread and wine is a question which has been debated, and has advocates on both sides, but there certainly can be no dispute on the emphasis of the words, and that we are told that we must “eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood.”

The question, then, is how we shall comply with this command of our Lord. In what acts of mind and body shall we partake of that body and blood ? Is it by acts of repentance and faith ; is it by meditation ; is it by the cultivation of holiness ; is it by growth in grace ; is it by any act of spiritual cultivation ? Or is it by coming to the holy communion, after all the spiritual preparation which is recommended, and which is made a condition, that we may expect “to eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and to drink His blood” ? After reading the discourse at Capernaum, and then reading what three of the evangelists say of the institution of the Eucharist, and then reading what St. Paul says in his Epistle to the Corinthians, would not the faithful communicant say : “I shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood in the sense in which He wishes me to eat and drink it to my soul’s health, when I partake of the holy com-

munition ; for the apostle says : ‘ The bread which we break, is it not the communion, or does it not communicate the body of Christ ? and the cup which we bless, is it not the communion, or does it not communicate the blood of Christ ? ’ ”

What our blessed Lord said with great emphasis is this : “ Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.” It is not said, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man in the Eucharist, but only that ye eat that flesh. Where it may be eaten or when it may be eaten is not in the command. There may be other ways of eating that flesh and drinking that blood. The teaching of the Church in the Prayer-Book certainly leads us to think that there are other means by which we may receive this great gift. Thus at the end of the service for “ The Communion of the Sick,” it is said that “ if a man either by reason of extreme sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the minister, or for lack of communicants to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood, the minister shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed His blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving Him hearty thanks therefor, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably

to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth." In which it is very clear that the Church thus recognizes the food of the soul to be the body and blood of Christ our Lord. But St. Paul just as distinctly recognizes the sacrament as the instrument by which we eat that spiritual food. The ordinary way, however, by which our Lord provided for the reception of this spiritual gift is by means of the sacrament ; but it is a gift independent of the Eucharist, which is the ordinary and appointed instrument for its conveyance.

This, then, is the great lesson which the office of communion teaches us. It places distinctly in language that there is a spiritual gift, that we are brought into union and communion with our Saviour Jesus Christ. It teaches us that it is something far beyond a sign or a symbol of what we have received. The language of Scripture, embodied in the service, shows us how we may receive the great gift from our incarnate Lord, how our souls may be nourished, how the seed of immortal life may be implanted in our mortal nature, how the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead shall also quicken unto everlasting life our mortal bodies by dwelling in us.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT TO THE EUCHARIST.

It will be observed that the invocation is a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the elements, or that by the operation of the Holy Ghost we may be made partakers of the body and blood of Christ. It is here, at the utterance of the invocation, that the Holy Spirit and His Divine operations are introduced into the service. One might suppose that Christ in His incarnate nature would alone be referred to ; and especially as the feeding on Him is declared to be that which is to give life to men : “ Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.” But the incarnation of Christ, the Son of God, in his mediatorial work is not more distinctly introduced into the Eucharistic act than is the Holy Ghost and His Divine operations.

In one respect we should expect to find mention made of the Divine Spirit in the work of redemption as well as the Father and the Son. The work of redemption is not a work which the Holy Scriptures confine to one person, the Son, but they ascribe it to the three. Thus St. Paul says to the Ephesians

(2 : 18) : “Through Him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.” We might expect to find each of the three persons of the blessed Trinity brought into view in the great act of Christian worship, and we do so find them introduced. Thus the oblation is made to the Father to represent to Him the great redemptive acts of the Son, and to memorialize Him by those acts to be merciful to us ; and then we proceed to invocate the operations of the Holy Ghost to make these elements to us the body and blood of Christ ; and we pray that He may come down upon us as well as upon the elements.

We shall find the invocation of the Holy Spirit made in the liturgies. In the previous chapter we have seen that this invocation was offered that He might make the elements the body and blood, or that they might be made the medium of communicating it. We now quote again from the liturgies in order to draw special attention to the fact that it is the Holy Spirit that is invoked.

Thus in the liturgy of Clement the language is

“Send down Thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the body of Thy Christ, and this cup the blood of Thy Christ.”

The liturgy of St. James has these words :

“Send down upon us and upon these gifts which are here set before Thee Thy most Holy Spirit, . . . that by His holy, good, and glorious presence He may sanctify and make this

bread the holy body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious blood of Thy Christ.”

St. Mark’s liturgy expresses it thus :

“Send down upon us and upon these loaves and these cups this Thy Holy Spirit, that He may sanctify and perfect them as being Almighty God ; and may He make the bread to be indeed the body, and the cup to be the blood of the New Testament of our very Lord, and God, and Saviour, and most great King Jesus Christ.”

These are the words of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom :

“We beseech and pray Thee send Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts here lying before Thee, and make this bread the precious body of Thy Christ, and that which is within this cup the precious blood of Thy Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit.”

St. Basil’s liturgy expresses the same in these words :

“We pray and beseech Thee, O Thou Holy of Holies, that through Thy good pleasure Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us and upon these gifts here laid before Thee, and bless, and sanctify, and perfect them. Make this bread the precious body of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and this cup the precious blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, which was shed for the life of the world, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit.”

The liturgy of Alexandria thus expresses it :

“We sinners and Thy unworthy servants pray and beseech Thee, O Thou gracious God, the Lover of mankind, . . . that, through Thy good pleasure, Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us, Thy servants, and upon these Thy gifts here set before

Thee, . . . and make this bread to become the body of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

In the Roman liturgy, as was shown in the last chapter, there is a prayer to the same effect, but the Holy Ghost is not mentioned.

In the liturgy of Edward VI., which follows the order of the Roman liturgy, the name of the Holy Spirit is introduced, and the prayer is uttered that

"God with His Holy Spirit and word would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ."

This prayer was afterward introduced into the Scotch office and afterward into the American office, as has already been pointed out.

This fact, then, must be particularly observed that the prayer is that the Holy Spirit may effect this great purpose, that He would make this change, that He would make the elements to us the body and blood of Christ, or that we, partaking of them, may partake of the body and blood of Christ. This invocation is referred to as the means of the gift which is conferred in the Eucharist. Whatever is conferred upon us or is conveyed to us is thus declared to be by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

The change which is here named is a change of purpose or of effect. Common bread and common wine are intended to nourish the body only. They are assimilated with the body. They make it to

grow and to gain vigor for the purposes of life ; but when we pray that the elements may be *changed* by the operation of the Holy Spirit, we ask that the elements of bread and wine may be consecrated to a new purpose, and may be made to produce new effects in our souls, in our moral and spiritual nature, that they may be made the means of bringing vigor to our moral purposes, that we may be enabled to grow in holiness, and may be united to Christ and grow more and more into His likeness, or, as the Eucharistic prayer expresses it, that “ He may dwell in us and we in Him.” The whole tenor of the service shows that this is the change for which we pray ; and indeed the greatest change that can take place, that the bread and the wine of the Eucharist may nourish not our bodies only, but also our spiritual nature.

And we pray in the Scotch and in the American office that this effect may take place not only by the operation of the Spirit, but also by His word—“ With Thy word and Holy Spirit.” There is here no doubt a reference to the words in Genesis (1 : 2) : “ And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light : and there was light.” So here when God says through His ministers : “ This is My body, this is My blood,” we are praying that this word may become effectual through the Spirit, as God’s word was effectual in producing order by the movement of the Spirit.

It is asserted also that the very act of the incarna-

tion is effected by the Holy Ghost. We read in the Gospel of St. Matthew (1 : 20) : “ Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife : for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.” This was said to Joseph by the angel. So in St. Luke (1 : 35) we read that the angel answered and said unto Mary : “ The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee : therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.” The same fact is referred to in the Apostles’ Creed, “ I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost.” And in the Nicene Creed we say, “ Was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary.” .

Thus this expression of the presence and work of the Holy Ghost is made in connection with all that is said of the incarnation of Christ, and of His great acts of redemption. It is not only the act of the Son, but it is an act done through the agency of the Spirit.

It is certainly remarkable how much the work of Christ is referred to in connection with the work of the Holy Spirit. Not only is the incarnation referred to, but at His baptism John “ saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and lighting upon Him” (St. Matt. 3 : 16). So “ He was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil” (St. Matt. 4 : 1). “ It was through the Eternal Spirit [that He] offered Himself without spot to God” (Heb. 9 : 14). It was by the Spirit that He was raised from the

dead. “If the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you” (Rom. 8 : 11).

Here, in the chief acts of the life and in the redemptive work of the incarnate Lord, is the presence of the Spirit recognized in the Scriptures. It is not spoken of as simply a Divine influence or a subtle power going forth from Christ’s body, but it is declared that it is the Spirit Himself who is present and operating. The incarnation may be regarded as the great fact of the Gospel, as the great and primary fact of redemption ; but the particular influences and operations of the incarnation in the regeneration and renewal of man are distinctly ascribed to the influence of the Spirit. These operations are mysteries which cannot be unravelled. The presence of the Spirit, with all His operations, is a fact, but a fact which cannot be explained, but only stated. It is, however, stated in Holy Scriptures in the most explicit and emphatic terms, that He is operating in the recovery of man from sin, and in the renewing and purifying of his nature. So St. Basil says in his “Treatise on the Holy Spirit” : “As for the dispensations relating to man wrought by our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the goodness of God, who will gainsay that they are fulfilled through the grace of the Spirit ? Whether you will regard the things of old, the blessings of the patri-

archs, the help that was given by the law, the types, the prophecies, the heroism in war, the miracles wrought by the righteous, or the events of the dispensations concerning the appearing in the flesh of the Lord, all was by means of the Spirit.” *

Then in every act in which we are brought into relations to God as redeemed, and as being made sons of God and heirs of eternal life, there is the distinct recognition of the operation of the Holy Ghost. The new birth or regeneration is ascribed to Him ; the further operation in the increase in strength and in growth in grace received in the laying on of hands—or what we now call Confirmation—is attributed to the Divine influences of the Spirit. It is because He dwells in us and sustains us that we become strong in Christ Jesus. In consequence we are exhorted “not to grieve the Holy Spirit of God, by whom we are sealed unto the day of redemption” (Eph. 4 : 30). And then our resurrection is ascribed to His indwelling (Rom. 8 : 12), which ought to show us the nature of the spiritual body to which St. Paul refers in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. It is a spiritual body not because it is immaterial, not because it does not occupy space, not because it may not exhibit all the qualities of matter, but because the body of the resurrection is not sustained after the manner of an ordinary body of flesh and blood by decay and renewal ; but it is a spiritual

* Basil, *De Sancto Spiritu*, sec. 29.

body because now the natural mode in sustaining the body ceases to operate, and the body of the resurrection is raised and sustained by the direct power of the Holy Ghost. The spiritual men of Corinth (1 Cor. 14 : 37) were men in whom the Holy Spirit was dwelling and quickening their mortal nature. It is to be presumed that the apostle keeps to the same meaning of this word, and does not drop what may be called its theological meaning and adopt a philosophical one.

When, then, we see in the New Testament that all the acts of Christ—all the redemptive acts—performed for man are ascribed to the accompanying power of God the Holy Ghost, why should we wonder when we find the flesh and blood of the Eucharist also ascribed to Him? Why should we not expect to find in the Eucharist service—in the liturgies—the invocation calling upon God to send the Holy Ghost to change the elements, to make them to us the body and blood of Christ?

There is another noted instance (1 Cor. 10 : 1-4) of this in the example which St. Paul gives to the Corinthians. It is not only the fact that the ancient people passed through the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink, but it is to be observed that they were baptized unto Moses, and so were brought into new conditions and new relations, just as the baptism unto Christ brought them into freedom and under the rule

of the Redeemer. And so they were nourished by Christ, by the spiritual rock that followed them. Now this word spiritual is applied three times. It is *spiritual* meat, and *spiritual* drink, and *spiritual* rock. How were these spiritual? In what sense were they spiritual? How were the meat and the drink spiritual? How was the rock spiritual? It was the rock that was smitten in the wilderness, and from which there came water. The apostle meant to teach them more than that these examples and symbols were intended to nourish their minds and to produce an effect upon their spiritual nature. It was such meat and drink as was intended not only to nourish the body, but to nourish the soul; and that nourishment was effected by the Holy Spirit. It was called spiritual because it came through His Divine operations. These two acts—these two miracles—were intended to be types of the two sacraments, the means by which spiritual food was furnished; and that spiritual food was created and furnished by the Holy Spirit. As St. Augustine said: “These acts were sacraments, different indeed in the outward and visible sign, but in the reality, in the thing given, in what was signified, they were equal with the sacraments of the Gospel.* The spiritual rock was Christ. Believing in God, in His providential care, in relying

* *Sacmenta illa fuerunt, in signis diversa, sed in re significatur paria.* Tractate 26 on St. John's Gospel, p. 376, Edinburgh translation.

upon Him for nourishment, they were made partakers of Christ by the operation of the Spirit.

But the most noted instance is that given in the discourse at Capernaum (St. John 6 : 26-63). When our blessed Lord said that they must eat His flesh and drink His blood, that He was the bread that came down from heaven, they were offended, and exclaimed that it was a "hard saying," and He immediately replied that the eating to which He referred was spiritual. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Now what did our Lord here mean by Spirit? We turn to what St. Paul said (1 Cor. 15 : 46) : "The last Adam was made a quickening spirit," and we at once understand that in the bread, or by means of the bread, there is the Spirit that gives life, that quickens unto spiritual life. We shall see this more clearly if we examine the meaning of the word spirit. In order to get the meaning of the discourse it is especially necessary that we understand in what sense our Lord uses this word spirit. This is really the key to the meaning of what our Lord said at Capernaum. There are at least three meanings to this word.

The first meaning is the essential quality of anything. As it is the spirit which gives life to anything, so it is the real part of man. What is man without the spirit, the soul, that which gives being? It is the spirit which gives life and reality to man, to

anything that is capable of motion. This is a sense in which the word is on our lips every day. Did our Lord use the word in this sense when He said that His words were spirit and that they were life? What meaning would there be in His discourse had He said : “The flesh profiteth nothing ; it is the life, the earnestness, the reality that quickeneth. My words have a reality. The flesh profiteth nothing ; but the real earnest reception of Me, that will nourish you unto life eternal”? This certainly would not add much to a clear perception of His meaning, and would not meet their difficulties and allay their murmurings.

The second way in which the word spirit is used is this. It expresses the living principle in man—the soul, emotion, intelligence, the thinking part of man, which lifts the mass of matter, the mere clay (Gen. 2 : 7) into a living, breathing man. It is in almost all languages derived from that which means breath, which is the foundation word for soul. It is possible that this may be the meaning of the word in the expression, “My words are spirit and they are life.” He could have said to them that they interpreted His words to mean mere flesh. As St. Augustine said, they supposed that He meant by flesh that “which is separated into parts, that which is sold in the shambles.” That certainly would profit them nothing ; that was only a physical act ; that had reference only to the body ; it did not refer to the in-

telligent, emotional part of man. He meant to tell them that it was not the body of which He was speaking, but of that part which was thought, which formed conceptions, which determined on action, which exercised the will, and so determined the moral action. This was a consistent meaning, but it would hardly come up to an answer to their question. No one could have said that he was satisfied ; at least, no one could cease to murmur at His word, and to say that he could appreciate His meaning and acquiesce in it.

But there is a third sense in which the word *spirit* is used. It is the one with which we meet so often in the New Testament, and which has already been pointed out. When our Lord speaks of spirit in this discourse He refers to the Holy Spirit. It is this Spirit which quickeneth, which makes meat spiritual, which makes drink spiritual, which makes the rock spiritual ; which is not only the power, but which is the person that quickeneth. Our Lord meant not that it was the flesh that was to quicken, and to give life, and to make us live forever, but that it was the Holy Spirit. The expression is one of those *hebraisms* which are found in the New Testament, like the expression in the Acts, “He preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection” (17 : 28). It was not only Jesus as the Saviour, and the resurrection as one of the effects of His redemption ; but he preached unto them Jesus as He had risen from the dead, and so had come forth “with all power in heaven and on

earth" (St. Matt. 28 : 18). So when our Lord said : "The words that I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life." They are the life of the Spirit ; they are life-giving through the Spirit ; by means of His Divine operations He is the source of the quickening power. In themselves they are nothing, the flesh does not profit—will not make you live forever ; but the Spirit will make these elements powerful and life-giving ; they will convey to you the very gift which will make you live forever in My kingdom.

Now our Lord would seem to say in this discourse that it is the Divine power which accompanies His words, and the relations which exist between the one who believes and Him the source of life. It is an operation of His Spirit, such as is so often referred to. He was not talking merely of eating flesh—that would profit nothing ; but the feeding on Him was an operation of the Holy Spirit.

It would appear, then, that this thought was taken up by the apostles, and that it was made one of the prominent points in the liturgy. The bread and the wine were made the instruments by which the Holy Ghost imparted to us the body and blood of Christ. Whatever benefits they were to convey were to be conveyed through His operations ; and this thought was embodied in the invocation. The Church prayed in the liturgy that the merciful Father "with His word and Holy Spirit" would make these "creatures" to be that which in His discourse at Capernaum He

said they were. Our Lord had reference to the operation of the Holy Spirit, and the expression which the Church gave to it was in this elementary act of the invocation.

We find, then, that the invocation shows us how the eating this flesh and drinking this blood can profit us. It is the Spirit that quickeneth. It is the spiritual life which is given through these by Him. It is the Holy Spirit which makes them to have their life-giving power, and while possibly our Lord may not have primarily referred to the Eucharistic act as yet an instituted rite, He did refer to the great gift which was to be conferred. And, as was afterward made manifest, that gift was to be obtained in the Eucharist, so the invocation exhibited the manner in which His words were to be fulfilled.

The words are, as St. Augustine said, figurative ; they are not literal. We do not, as those of Caper-naum seemed to suppose, eat flesh such as was sold in the shambles, but we eat that which the Holy Ghost, upon whom we call in the invocation, has by His Divine operation made our “spiritual food and sustenance in this holy sacrament.”

There is no explanation of the mode in which this Divine operation takes place. All that we can do is to bring into view and into their relations these operations and influences, and connect them with the recognition of the source of that Divine power in the liturgy of the Church.

There is the invocation in the liturgy. It is a great and prominent fact that the Church has made this invocation an important part of the Eucharist service. We not only worship God ; we not only present to Him the memorial of His Son's work, but we call down, by our invocation, the Holy Spirit that He would make this bread and this cup that which our Lord said was necessary to eternal life ; that He would make them for us the flesh of the Son of Man —the meat which we must eat and the blood which we must drink—in order that we may have that which shall nourish us unto eternal life.

As we have seen, then, that the oblation is a wonderful act in which we present to the Almighty Father the work of redemption as that on which we rely ; so in the invocation we indicate the source of power, that which quickens us, makes us alive, and furnishes to us the spiritual food. It is a no less significant act, and a no less glorious one ; for as the former brings us before God, humbled for our sins, and acknowledging that all the mercy and all the power are with Him, so in the latter act we acknowledge that the only source of spiritual power is here indicated ; that in participating in the holy rite we are receiving nourishment and vigor, which shall give us immortal life with God in heaven.

CHAPTER III.

THE EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY.

WE might let the inquiry rest here. We have examined the liturgy of the Church, and have found that it is an act of worship which is represented by the *oblation*; and that it is a means of grace as it is represented by the *invocation*. The history of these two great acts, and how they are used in the liturgy as a means to those ends has been investigated; and we have seen that in clear and reiterated language they teach us, and make us to say that we bring into view the great redemptive acts of the Son of God, and urge them upon the consideration of the Eternal Father. And they teach us, and also make us to say, that we are made partakers of the body and blood of the Eternal Son through the operations of the Holy Ghost. And in saying this we are saying no more than St. Paul said when he wrote to the Corinthians (10 : 16) that “the cup which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?” The liturgy does not go beyond the Scriptures. They are identical in their expressions. The meaning of the one must be the meaning of the

other. Whatever St. Paul taught that we received, that the liturgy makes us to say we have received. The objection does not lie against the liturgy, if we make any objection, but it lies primarily against the apostle. It is a great mystery, and we are not bound to explain it as a preliminary to receiving it, any more than we are bound to explain the mystery of the Godhead before we accept redemption and rely on the work of the Son of God.

Now when we have thus investigated the liturgy, and have brought into view its acts, and the relation of those acts to us, it might be supposed that we had gone far enough, and that we may receive those acts in faith without an objection and without a word. We might say at this stage of the inquiry, “ All that remains for me, a believer in Christ and a disciple of Christ, is to come to the participation with a penitent and loving heart, and to receive the Eucharistic food under whatever name Christ the Lord chooses to call it ; and to receive the grace, whatever may be its nature, as He is pleased to give it to me. That, all of us might be disposed to say, is all that is required or expected of us.” And, therefore, I say our inquiry might be supposed at this stage to be sufficient.

But speculative inquiry is one of the tendencies of the human mind. We are rarely satisfied with facts ; we wish for the philosophy of the facts, for the relations of the facts, for the inferences from the facts. We do so in religion—in the Christian religion—until

we build up a great system of philosophy, until it becomes difficult to say where the philosophy ceases and the facts stand pure and simple. This was the origin of a great deal of the sectarianism of the second and third centuries. These sects had their origin in speculative philosophy, as we learn from the works of Tertullian and of Irenæus ; and the same is true of the sects of modern times. The speculations of St. Augustine laid the foundations of John Calvin's system ; and it was speculation run riot that gave rise to the views of the Divine nature, and the relations of man to the Divine attributes ; and the speculations of the Greek theologians in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries are seen even in the statements of the facts themselves of the Christian faith ; and in the Middle Ages this spirit of speculation was more manifest than at any other period of the world's history. From the time of Charlemagne the great doctors—the Angelic Doctor, the Seraphic Doctor, and the Subtle Doctor—carried on speculations until Christianity was almost covered up and obscured in a cloud of metaphysics. Even morality was lost in the divisions and distinctions of a plain proposition, until it was difficult to say what was a Divine precept or a moral duty, or what act under any circumstances could involve a sin. This spirit first showed itself in the Apostolic Church. “ Certain men which came down from Judea taught the brethren and said, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses ye cannot

be saved" (Acts 15 : 1). That was their deduction ; that was their philosophy. That was not the Divine revelation ; that was not the fact.

Philosophical speculation and logical inference are constantly presented to us as the revelation of God. As a writer in the *Church Quarterly Review** expresses it : "The point at which Protestantism breaks down is the refusal to follow out that great doctrine (the incarnation) into all that is logically entailed by it." And it is the presenting what is "logically entailed" that is often presented and pressed as the revelation itself which inspiration has offered for our belief.

The real controversy began in the ninth century. Previous to that time the great preachers and the great writers of the Church, having no fear of a theory before their minds, did not use language with logical exactness ; they often used it with rhetorical looseness. They used the language of the discourse of our Lord at Capernaum, and the language of St. Paul to the Corinthians without a qualification and without a caution. They probably did not take into consideration the danger into which they might fall when taken in hand by logicians and speculative philosophers. The language which they used in the freedom of discourse to express what our Lord and His inspired apostles had said was subjected to the tests which the Organon of Aristotle furnished, and their

* April, 1888, p. 1.

rhetorical phrases were converted into logical propositions, and the syllogism soon brought forth a conclusion in a proposition which might astonish St. Chrysostom and St. Cyprian. Paschasius Radbert,* Abbot of Corbey, A.D. 817, first tried his hand at it, and he broached the doctrine that the change wrought in the elements was a change in their substance, and they became what the words literally indicated. Thirty years after Rabanus Maurus, in 847 A.D., “opposed this with all his might.” The doctrine was simmering and stewing in the monasteries of Europe for two hundred years, and was coming into shape, and a shape so well marked that it began to raise opposition. Berengarius stoutly opposed it ; but it was beginning to have such a hold on the minds of the theologians of that day, that the Pope caused Berengarius to make a recantation ; and Gregory VII.,† the Great Hildebrand, though at first doubtful as to the doctrine, yet settled down into a belief and reception of it, and made Berengarius to recant a second time. Under Innocent III. the doctrine was acknowledged in the Lateran Council, and the word *transubstantiation* was invented to express it. Since then the doctrine and “all that is logically entailed by it” was received by the Council of Trent, and is required to be believed as an article of faith.

* Archbishop Tillotson’s Discourse against Transubstantiation.

† Bowden’s Life of Gregory VII., Book 3, chap. 16.

It is logic and philosophy which have brought this view of the Eucharist into the Christian faith. It was in consequence maintained to be part of the Catholic faith, that the Lord Jesus was produced on the altar by the utterance of the sacred words, and that He is offered in sacrifice. The words of the Roman liturgy express no such doctrine, and no such logical inference can be drawn from them. That part of the mass, as has already been pointed out, is older than Radbert, and Maurus, and Berengarius.

The revolt at the Reformation led to the study of the Eucharist anew ; and the effort was made not to find what our Lord had asserted and how St. Paul understood Him, and in what sense the Church, in her first liturgies, received Christ's words, but to deduce what was "logically entailed by" the Divine words, and to harmonize them into a system. It is remarkable and it is also distressing to see the efforts which have been made to construct a doctrine of the Eucharist rather than to inquire into the revelation or what was once delivered to the Church.

The reformers rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, and they attempted to define another doctrine which was to take its place. Luther held to a presence of Christ in "His glorified body and blood." This has been called consubstantiation, because it did not imply a change of substance, but a presence with and in addition to the presence of the material elements ; the Lutherans, however, did not accept this

term. But it was another philosophical explanation.

This view was opposed by Zwingli, a Swiss reformer. He maintained that there was no presence of the body and blood of Christ in any sense. He did not, of course, deny a presence of Christ, but it was not a presence different from His presence on any occasion or for any purpose. It was not a nourishment of the soul by the body and blood of Christ, but only by Christ Himself.

John Calvin* held that Christ's body and blood were received, but he did not claim that the elements were the body and blood of Christ. He did not hold to a change in the substance of the elements. He thoroughly repudiated such a change, and did not inquire into the manner or the nature of the change. His language does not always receive the same interpretation. He claims that he is dealing with a great mystery, and it is not surprising that he should not use language which lays open the mystery and shows us how Christ gives us His flesh and His blood. He is only intent to show that in the Eucharist we receive what Christ promised us. Probably he does not concern himself with the question which has so much troubled theological disputants. There has been the question about the elements, whether their nature was changed, or whether He was united with them.

* Institutes, Book 4, chap. 17.

Hooker* did not think that it was necessary to regard the presence of Christ in the elements to be “an essential doctrine.” He thought that the persons who had written on this subject had “grown” “to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material—namely, the *real participation* of Christ and of life in His body and blood *by means of this sacrament*; wherefore should the world continue still distracted and rent with so manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no controversy saving only about the subject *where* Christ is? Yea, even in this point no side denieth that *the soul of man* is the receptacle of Christ’s presence. Whereby the question is yet driven to a narrower issue, nor doth anything rest doubtful but this. Whether, when the sacrament is administered, Christ be wholly *within man only*, or else His body and blood be externally seated in the very consecrated elements themselves; which opinion they that defend are driven either to *consubstantiate* and incorporate Christ with elements sacramental, or to *transubstantiate* and change their substance into His.” And this great author concludes that “the real presence of Christ’s most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament.”

This was the state of the controversy down to the present century. No doubt individual theologians

* Hooker, Book 5, chap. 77, secs. 2, 6.

held that there was a presence with the sacrament, or that the elements in some mysterious manner gave Christ to the soul ; while others, after the teaching of Hooker, held that it was not a question to be discussed, as it was one beyond our knowledge.

The term which has long been in use is *real presence*, but these words have ceased to indicate that which they did originally. It was originally a philosophical term, and came out of the mediæval discussions. No doubt it was originally used to express a presence of Christ in the elements by transubstantiation. It was the presence of what was called the *res* —the *res sacramenti*. There was the *sacramentum*, but there was also in the sacrament a reality, which was Christ Himself ; and this was called the thing of the sacrament, the *res sacramenti*. According to the Aristotelian metaphysics, there were the *signum* and the *res signi*. When one spoke of the *real presence* before the Reformation, he meant the elements transubstantiated into Christ, as that doctrine is expressed by the Council of Trent. But the term became less philosophical after the doctrine of the Roman Church was rejected ; and it meant that Christ was present in some manner, and made the sacrament efficacious, but did not confine the view to the manner ; and its use in most cases had nothing to do with the manner. According to Hooker, it did not involve the question of *where*, but only the fact of Christ's presence.

The influence of the Oxford-Tract controversy

helped to restore the use of the expression ; but at the same time it was maintained that it was a spiritual presence. The presence of the spirit, the operation of the Holy Spirit, the quickening of the Divine Spirit, gave a reality and a power which made the presence more real than it could be through the instrumentality of a change of substance.

But then there came a revival of the opinion that there was a change in the elements of a mysterious nature, and that Christ was in the elements in some way which it was presumption to try to explain. And it was held that where the consecrated elements were, there was Christ. John Keble, who had been the editor of Hooker's works, and who embraced the views of the great Anglican, toward the latter part of his life abandoned Hooker, and embraced the growing view of a presence with or in the elements. In 1827, when he published the "Christian Year," * he wrote in one of the hymns :

" There present in the heart,
Not in the hands."

Canon Liddon gave an account in the *Church Quarterly*, how in the last month of his life he changed these lines so that they might read,

" There present in the heart
And in the hands,"

in which he abandoned the views which had pre-

* Christian Year, Gunpowder Treason.

vailed, and embraced those which have been daily growing for the past forty years.

Keble also, in 1857, published an essay on “Eucharistical Adoration.” He meant by this that the elements after consecration were to be adored, because of the presence of Christ in those elements. It was a remarkable* admission on his part that there was no provision made in any of the liturgies for such adoration. In the Roman liturgy, as has been pointed out, when the priest has uttered the words, “*Hoc est enim corpus meum,*” and when he has also said, “*Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei,*” he holds them up for the adoration of the worshippers. According to the Roman doctrine, Christ, whole Christ, Christ body, soul, and divinity was present. Keble did not hold this doctrine, but he now maintained a presence in the element in a manner which was not explained, because it was a mystery which it would be presumption to attempt to explain ; but in his estimation it was nevertheless a fact, and a fact which called for action.

* John Keble, on Eucharistical Adoration, chap. 3, sec. 11, p. 113 : “The only plausible objection that I know of to the foregoing statement arises from the omission of the subject in the primitive liturgies, which are almost or altogether silent as to any worship of Christ’s body and blood after consecration. We find in them neither any form of prayer addressed in special to His holy humanity so present, nor any rubric enjoining adoration inward or outward.”

The doctrine of the presence of Christ in the elements has given rise to another inference. The consecrated elements are enclosed in what is called a *tabernacle*, which is placed over the altar for the perpetual worship of the attendants. Such a view of the presence is not a revelation. It is the result of speculation and logical inference. It cannot be claimed that it was included in the faith which was once delivered to the saints.

It has been the purpose of this dissertation simply to exhibit the meaning of the Scriptures and the teaching of the liturgies. It must be supposed that in receiving the form of worship from the apostles, the revealed doctrine of the Eucharist was embodied in those liturgies, and that we have in them an exhibition of the worship of the Church as it was delivered by the first and inspired founders of the Church.

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